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SIR JOSIA CHILD

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VOLUME 6

KEIGWIN'S REBELLION
(1683–4)
AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY

By *RAY & OLIVER STRACHEY*

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PREFACE

THE authorities for the events connected with Keigwin's Rebellion fall naturally under three heads; manuscript records, contemporary travellers or writers, and later historians.

I. *Manuscript Records.* These, as might be expected in so unexplored a field, are by far the most important sources of information. The old East India Company kept most careful records of the correspondence to and from India, and also of the Consultations of the various Councils in the East, and of the letters that passed between the different factories; and enough of these remain to give a very complete picture of the affairs in Western India during the period we have to deal with. They may be divided as below:

1. *Original Correspondence*, known as the O. Cs. These are a series of MS. volumes containing the originals of a vast number of letters received by the Court from its servants, together with their enclosures, and are certainly the most important material available for the period.

2. *Factory Records of Surat and Bombay.* The factory records are arranged according to factories; thus there is one series of volumes for Surat, and another for Bombay. They contain copies of letters both dispatched and received, and minutes of the consultations held.

3. *Letter Books* containing copies of the letters sent from England by the Company to their various factories, arranged according to date.

4. *Court Books*, which contain the minutes of the Court meetings in Leadenhall Street.

5. *Miscellaneous Factory Records*, among which is one volume (No. 16) devoted entirely to the struggle between John Child and the Interloping partners Pettit and Bowcher.

6. *Manuscript Records at Bombay.* We have unfortunately not had the opportunity of consulting the original records, but

the most important documents are available to the public in Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay State Papers*, a publication of the utmost value to the student, and one to which we are much indebted.[1]

7. *Orme's MSS.*[2] This is a collection in the India Office comprising a large number of invaluable extracts in that historian's holograph from old records of the Company, of many of which we have been unable to find the originals; they have probably perished in the interval, so that only Orme's copies survive.

Outside the Company's records in the India Office the material is not very great. In the Record Office the State Papers for this period have not yet been calendared, so that it is possible that we may have missed interesting documents; apart from duplicates of India Office records, we are chiefly indebted to this Office for some interesting letters from Dr. John St. John, the Bombay Admiralty Judge, and for the logs of the *Phoenix*, sent out by the King to put down the Rebellion, and of the *Assistance*, the ship in command of which Keigwin met his death.

In the Bodleian Library, among the Rawlinson MSS., are duplicates of several papers referring to the rebellion, and a few notes written by Sir Josia Child.

The Heralds' Office and Somerset House have supplied us with information about Josia and John Child that has been most unaccountably overlooked by previous historians, seeing how easily accessible it must always have been. The Heralds' Office records, too, are the only authority for the previous life of Sir Thomas Grantham, already brought to light by Yule in his edition of Hedges' *Diary*.

II. *Contemporary Writers*. The most important of these are Fryer, Hamilton, and Ovington. The last named came to India as a chaplain in 1689, and his *Voyage to Surat* is useful only as giving an excellent account of the conditions of

[1] Our references to 'Forrest', in this work, are to vol. i. of the 'Home Series' of these Selections.

[2] Robert Orme, 1728–1801, was Historiographer to the East India Company from 1769 till his death.

life among the English in Western India. John Fryer, whose *New Account of East India and Persia* is even better in this respect than Ovington's book, is in other ways most tantalizing. He was one of the Company's doctors from 1672 to 1681, and must have been intimately acquainted with nearly all the characters of our story. He was in Bombay when Aungier put down the abortive mutiny of 1674, in which John Child and his father-in-law Captain Shaxton were involved; he travelled down the coast with Henry Gary and was the guest at Carwar of Henry Oxinden; in 1678 he was John Pettit's travelling companion from Gombroon to Shiraz in Persia, and was in Surat during the extraordinary trial and acquittal of that much-suffering man by Rolt and his Council; and he finally sailed for England with Caesar Chambrelan by the same shipping as the departing president, leaving John Child in charge of Surat. Had he given us his views on the persecution of John Child's rival they could hardly have failed to be at least of great interest, yet the name of Pettit never so much as occurs in his book; and so great is his reserve on all controversial topics of the time that we are able to glean very little of historical value from him, beyond his account of Henry Oxinden's mission to Sivaji, which does not bear on our subject at all.

Far otherwise is it with Alexander Hamilton, against whom the charge of excessive reserve is the last that could be brought with justice. This blade, as John Child would have called him, was one of the many Interlopers who defied the Company's Charter and traded on their own account in Indian waters. He first came to India within a few years of Keigwin's rebellion, and he served as a volunteer in the defence of Bombay against the Mogul army in 1690. With many of the actors in our story he was therefore personally acquainted, including General Child and George Bowcher; so that, although not an eyewitness, he must have heard many first-hand accounts of the rebellion from both sides. Hamilton was a violent partisan and an enthusiastic gossip, and his sympathies, as became his calling, were all against the monopolist company; with the result that his book, *A New Account of the East*

Indies, is a perfect storehouse of scandalous libels against John Child in particular, and the Company's officers in general. Indeed, so carried away is the old Interloper by his feelings, that he defeats his own purpose; for in his zeal to blacken his opponents' characters he continually scorns not only the truth but the most elementary plausibility, so that it finally becomes scarcely possible to believe a word that he says.

But although, where his prejudices are concerned, it is necessary so largely to discount Hamilton's version of events, his work is by far the most valuable authority on our period, outside the official correspondence in the India Office. For if his libels can in no case be accepted as proof of Child's villany, yet, viewed *en bloc*, they are excellent evidence of the light in which the President appeared to his opponents, and of the kind of story about him that was going the rounds of the little community in Western India; and however unreliable in detail, his book certainly reflects accurately enough the general atmosphere of opinion of at least a large section of his contemporaries. Moreover, the reader, however sceptical, can hardly avoid conviction on many points; the President's prodigious unpopularity, for instance, and his blustering and domineering character, remain as an insoluble sediment when the extraordinary mixture of Alexander Hamilton has been allowed to settle.

III. *Later Historians*. No satisfactory account of Keigwin's rebellion has been written; and indeed, strange as it may appear, the world remains in almost total ignorance of the administrations of Oxinden, Aungier, and Child, administrations that cover a period in which the English Company in India grew from a seed to a sapling, and in which are to be found the origins of our Empire. At the beginning of this period the President of Surat was the local manager of a business concern, and at the end of it he was the head of an executive government with municipalities, law courts, taxation and a standing army. The development of Bombay which took place in the last half of the seventeenth century is certainly one of the most interesting studies in our Imperial history; yet we have been unable to find a single writer—nor

even the *Bombay Gazetteer*—who can name correctly its Deputy Governors during this period.

Of the older historians, Bruce and Orme are the most important. Bruce's *Annals* is a dry and disappointing work; it gives the Company's authorized version of such events as they thought it creditable to record, and so cannot be neglected; but it is as prejudiced as Hamilton, without his racy charm, and preserves a stony silence on almost all points of interest.

Orme's *Fragments* is excellent so far as it goes, and has all that historian's painstaking accuracy; but it is concerned only with the doings of the Moguls, the Mahrattas, and the Siddees, and touches but incidentally on English affairs.

Besides these two historians, later writers are chiefly indebted to Anderson's *English in Western India*, an anecdotal work compiled partly from old Bombay records, partly from Hamilton and Fryer, and partly from the reverend author's own inner consciousness. Unfortunately, he did not take sufficient care to distinguish between these different sources of information, and his book, though entertaining and no doubt good of its kind, being written at a period when the standard of historical accuracy was far lower than at present, is not to be recommended as an authority. It is in fact so full of misconceptions and misstatements that Anderson can never be accepted but when supported from more reliable sources.

Historians subsequent to Bruce have not proved of much assistance to us; they suffer almost without exception from a fogginess due to insufficient acquaintance with the India Office records. This is the case even with Sir William Hunter, whose book, *The History of British India*, gives nevertheless an admirable bird's-eye view, and suffers only from the defects inevitable to a historian who attempts a general *résumé* before the ground has been sufficiently worked over. Others that may be read with advantage are Campbell,[1] Edwardes,[2] Da Cunha,[3] Douglas,[4] Mainwaring,[5] and Malabari[6]; but none of

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer Materials*, vol. xxvi. [2] *The Rise of Bombay*, and a supplementary volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 'Bombay City and Island.'

[3] The *Origin of Bombay*, published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal.

[4] *Bombay and Western India*.

[5] *Crown and Company.*

[6] *Bombay in the making*.

them, though they have made ample use of the records at Bombay, has adequately exploited the far richer mine in the India Office.

A special word must be said of Sir Henry Yule: this writer's edition of Hedges' *Diary* is the most valuable contribution hitherto made to the history of the British in India in the late seventeenth century. Alone of those dealing with this period, he has thoroughly explored the Original Correspondence in the India Office; and although his work deals explicitly only with Bengal, and although it is in form only a collection of materials, yet nothing better is to be found about Keigwin's Rebellion than in Hedges' *Diary*.[1]

No preface to a work dealing with India would be complete without a note on the spelling of Indian names. We shall simply observe that we have followed the example of the characters in our story, and spell exactly as we choose. Even in the spelling of their own names they varied most refreshingly; Pettit often appears as Petit or Petitt, and Bowcher as Bourchier, and where no confusion can arise we claim an equally free hand.

Regarding the dates, we have followed the usual practice of the period, giving both styles. Thus 'January 1683/4' means 1683 Old Style and 1684 New Style.

We cannot conclude without a grateful acknowledgement of the obliging courtesy extended to us by the authorities at the India Office; and especially by Mr. W. Foster, who was kind enough to give us the help of his great expert knowledge on several points.

[1] Under the heading 'Grantham', in vol. ii.

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PRINCIPAL DRAMATIS PERSONAE

IN ENGLAND

Sir Josia Child	Governor of the E. I. Co.
Thomas Papillon	Deputy Governor of the E. I. Co.

IN INDIA

Gerald Aungier	President of Surat
Thomas Rolt	President of Surat, Aungier's successor
John Child	President of Surat, Rolt's successor
Capt. Shaxton	John Child's father-in-law, formerly Deputy Governor of Bombay
Henry Oxinden	Deputy Governor of Bombay
Charles Ward	John Child's brother-in-law, and Deputy Governor of Bombay
Henry Smith	Ward's second at Bombay
Capt. Thos. Nicholls	Judge in Bombay, later dismissed
Capt. Henry Gary	Judge in Bombay, his successor
Dr. John St. John	Admiralty Judge
Capt. Richard Keigwin Henry Fletcher John Thorburn Stephen Adderton Thos. Wilkins	Mutineers
John Pettit	Deputy Governor of Bombay, later Chief of the Interlopers
George Bowcher	His friend and partner
Sir Thomas Grantham Capt. Minchin Capt. Davies Capt. Hilder Capt. Consett	Ships' Captains, servants of the Company

Charles Zinzan Francis Day George Gosfright John Hornigold William Vergis William Newman John Vaux	Factors
Mr. Peachy Watson Mr. John Church	Chaplains of Bombay
Madam Bowcher	Wife of George Bowcher
Mrs. Minchin	Her friend, wife of Capt. Minchin

Factors, Mutineers, Interlopers, Pirates, Mahrattas, and Moormen

GOVERNORS AND DEPUTY GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY

Governors in Bombay for the King.

Humphrey Cook. Nov. 1664—Nov. 1666
Sir Gervase Lucas. Nov. 1666—May 1667
Capt. Henry Gary. May 1667—Sept. 1668

Governors in Surat for the Company	*Deputy Governors in Bombay*
Sir George Oxinden. Sept. 1668—July 1669	John Goodier. Sept. 1668—Jan. 1668/9
	Henry Young. Jan. 1668/9—Nov. 1669
Gerald Aungier. July 1669—June 1677	James Addams and five Commissioners. Nov. 1669—Feb. 1669/70
	Matthew Gray. Feb. 1669/70—Sept. 1670
	Philip Gyffard. Sept. 1670—Sept. 1672
	John Shaxton. Sept. 1672—Aug. 1674
	Philip Gyffard.[1] June 1675—Nov. 1676
	John Pettit. Nov. 1676—Dec. 1677
Thomas Rolt. 1677—1682	Henry Oxinden. Dec. 1677—Sept. 1679
	John Child. Sept. 1679—Dec. 1681
John Child. 1682—1690	Mansell Smith. Dec. 1681—Feb. 1681/2
	Charles Ward. Feb. 1681/2—Dec. 1683

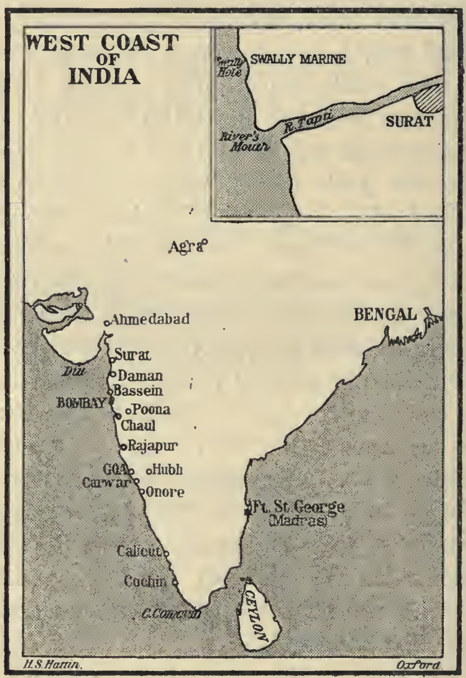
[1] Between Shaxton's suspension and Gyffard's second appointment there was no Deputy Governor; Aungier was on Bombay and was personally in charge.

INTRODUCTION

It has long been a commonplace that India must be governed from India and not from England, and it is certainly a fortunate thing that, in spite of the increasing tendency of Parliament to interfere in Indian matters, a tendency that perhaps must inevitably accompany the growing public interest in that empire, and is therefore a healthy if a vexatious symptom, no serious attempt has hitherto been made to transfer the real executive power from India to England. Two centuries ago the experiment was tried, and although our interests at that time comprised only a few scattered factories, and although the autocrat who made the attempt was one of the greatest men who have ever held the control in England of our affairs in India, yet the result was to the full as disastrous as might be expected. Sir Josia Child, whose appearance as a city merchant instead of as Emperor of China or the great Mogul seems an error of Providence, ascended his inadequate throne in Leadenhall Street and reigned despotically over the East India Company for the last twenty years of the seventeenth century. Before and after him, the Court of Directors contented themselves with issuing general instructions and accepting or rejecting the proposals of their chiefs in India; Sir Josia saw to it that his servants in the East contented themselves with carrying out his orders. The experiment was given a thorough trial; for owing to a change in Sir Josia's views, his rule exemplified both of the two opposite kinds of policy dear to Little Englanders on the one hand, and to Imperialists on the other. It is with the former of these policies and its results that we are mainly concerned.

We shall see Josia Child, determined to have a creature of his own in command in India, ruthlessly compassing the ruin of John Pettit, the senior and best-qualified candidate for the

Presidency of Surat, in favour of the unpopular but subservient John Child; we shall see him forcing on the reluctant Anglo-Indian community a policy of retrenchment and disarmament quite incompatible with what they knew to be necessary for the prestige and even the security of the English in India. And we shall see how the irritation caused by the former proceeding combined with the anger and alarm caused by the latter to drive the garrison of Bombay to revolt. Keigwin's rebellion was due in part to the unpopularity of John Child, and in part to the instinct of self-preservation which forbade the English in Bombay to put themselves at the mercy of the Mogul and Mahratta forces that were threatening to swamp them; and on both counts it is Josia Child, and his uninformed despotism, that must bear the blame.



CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS IN WESTERN INDIA, 1660–75

WHEN King Charles II of England began his reign, the Emperor Aurungzebe was at the height of his power in India. The last great figure of the mighty line of Mogul emperors, his energy, his treachery, and his craft had finally crushed and destroyed his brothers, and left him firmly established on the throne without a rival; free to pursue for the next forty years the policy dictated by his ambition and fanaticism. Before his death, in 1707, he had greatly extended the boundaries of his father's enormous empire, and nearly the whole of India acknowledged his sovereignty and was administered by his great officers of state; in extent of territory, in wealth, in magnificence and in power, he was, if we except the Emperor of China, the first monarch of the world.

On the west coast of India, with which this narrative is concerned, Aurungzebe's chief city was Surat. This great town was the principal seaport in the Empire and the foremost trade emporium in the East; in its harbour at the mouth of the river Tapti were to be seen vessels from Europe and China, from Persia and Arabia, from Bengal and Java; and from here sailed yearly the pilgrim vessels conveying the true believers of Aurungzebe's empire on their voyage to Mecca.

Surat itself lay some twelve miles up stream from the harbour, on the south bank of the river Tapti, which had formerly been navigable right up to the city; but mud had gradually silted up until it was only at spring-tides that vessels of any draught could come up, and the shipping had now to unlade at the river's mouth, the cargo being transported between harbour and town in shallow-draught country boats.

A few miles northwards up the coast was another harbour, known to our ancestors as Swally Hole, or Swally Marine;

this was reserved for the use of the three European Companies, whose flags, English, Dutch, and French,[1] flew over their respective warehouses and quarters on the shore. Here would land the traveller from England, if he came on one of the East India Company's vessels, and would make his way to Surat by land in one of the Company's coaches, or in a country cart drawn by trotting bullocks, while the cargo went round in boats by the river. Here too, in the shipping season, was stationed a member of Council, in charge of 'the Marine'; while the President himself, the Company's chief representative in Western India, made frequent visits to receive incoming ships or see the outgoing cargoes properly laden. The head-quarters and principal warehouses of the Company were in Surat, but it was no uncommon thing for the majority of the Council to be staying at Swally, and it was from here that most of the homeward letters were signed and dispatched.

Surat was some ten miles distant by road from Swally, and lay on the other side of the river, which was unbridged and crossed by ferry. The city was large, rich, and populous, and was commanded by a strong fort, whose military Governor was never allowed to go outside its walls. A separate Governor had charge of the city, with a host of subordinate dignitaries in control of the police, the military, the customs, and other departments.

We may form an idea of the size of Surat from the fact that a fortified wall, built round it in 1666[2] by the Emperor's orders, enclosed four square-miles of ground; yet the expansion of the town was such that by the end of the century, according to Alexander Hamilton, who knew it well at that time, extensive suburbs had sprung up in all directions outside the wall.[3] Nor was the wealth of its citizens less remarkable; the same authority tells us of one of them who alone drove a trade equal to that of the whole English East India Company, and who fitted out above twenty sail of ships in the year, of from 300 to 800 tons burden.[4] The Governor of Surat city, as was natural in a place of such importance, was generally one of the great nobles of

[1] The French did not come till 1668.
[2] Grant Duff, p. 89 note. [3] Hamilton, i. 147. [4] Id., i. 149.

the Empire, and after the great Subahdars, or Governors of Provinces, was among the most influential officers of the Mogul government. Every morning he rode to his 'Seat' attended by a guard of elephants, cavalry, and three hundred foot, while four-and-twenty banners of state, loud trumpets, and thundering kettle-drums emphasized his grandeur.[1]

Such was the city selected as the head-quarters in Western India of the East India Company during the seventeenth century, whence their President and Council controlled their various factories, from Persia to Cape Comorin; and this brief account has been given to help the reader to form a notion of the standing of the Company in Surat. Here they occupied merely the position of one of the big trading houses of the city; of political power or even influence they had none whatever; their force was limited to the sergeant and two files of soldiers which were allowed as a ceremonial guard to the President,[2] although on an emergency, by calling up ships' crews from Swally, they could make a stout enough show of defending their own factory, as they proved on occasion. Like any other merchant, the President was obliged to court the favour and consult the caprices of the great Governor, and even of that important functionary, the chief Customer.

The Mogul rulers indeed had long recognized the value of the European traders; not only did they do much to promote the commercial prosperity of India, and help considerably to swell the Emperor's customs revenue, but their skill and daring at sea gave him the advantage of an unpaid ocean-police force which did a good deal to mitigate the unceasing nuisance of the swarms of pirates that infested his coasts; and the English especially had proved of great assistance in suppressing the Portuguese buccaneers that used to lurk on the pilgrim sea-route to Mecca. It was the settled policy of the Moguls to encourage these useful visitors, and the East India Company, besides the lease on very easy terms of a fine house in Surat, were granted a firmaund or charter, by which the customs duties on exports and imports were fixed for

[1] Fryer, i. 242. [2] Id. i. 218.

them at 2 per cent., instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which was the normal charge.

Having thus shortly reviewed the position of the Company's servants as citizens of Surat, we may glance more closely into the manner of life of this little band of traders. The English factory, which the Company held of 'our landlord Aurungzebe', for the very moderate rent of £60 per annum, was a vast affair of stone and carved timber, with rooms enough to accommodate forty persons, though the President's 'family', including all the European servants of the Company at Surat, merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices, did not exceed some twenty or twenty-five members. Besides the living-rooms, among which was a spacious suite for the President, there was a fine room for the Council meetings, or consultations as they were called, noble rooms for entertainment, a dining-hall, a museum, a room fitted up as a chapel, a tank of water in the court, and a Turkish bath.[1] Below stairs was a spacious cellarage and warehousing accommodation, where in shipping time was 'a continual hurly-burly, the Banyans presenting themselves from the hour of Ten till Noon; and then Afternoon at Four till Night, as if it were an Exchange in every Row; the Packers and Warehouse-keepers, together with Merchants bringing and receiving Musters[2], make a meer Billingsgate; for if you make not a Noise, they hardly think you intent on what you are doing.'[3] Meals were taken together, all sitting down in the order of their seniority in the service to a table that was kept in the finest style; all the dishes and plates were of solid silver, as also were the 'Tosses or Cups', out of which were drunk Shiraz wine, Arrack punch, and more rarely Europe wines and English beer; to complete the picture we find that Indian, Portuguese and English cooks were all entertained 'to dress the Meat in different ways for the gratification of the stomach'.[4]

But if the factors lived in style, there was also a considerable discipline to be observed; the Company's 'Ten Commandments' were posted up, which consisted of 'good and Pious

[1] Fryer and Ovington.
[2] 'Muster' means 'sample'.
[3] Fryer, i. 215.
[4] Ovington.

directions' against profaneness, debauchery, and the like; and in addition there were orders by the President with penalties attached to the breach of them. Thus 'he that omitts Prayer on a Weeke day pays 2*s.* 6*d.*, on a Sunday 5*s.* If any be Drunke or abuse the Natives they are to be sett at the gate in Irons all the day time, and all the Night be tyed to a post in the house; If any lye out of the House, without leave of the President, he pays 40*s.*',[1] and so on; more like a college or monastery than anything else, as Streynsham Master remarks. On Sundays, after sermon, and a 'more large and splendid' dinner, of 'Deer and Antelopes, Peacocks, Hares and Partridges', to say nothing of 'Persian fruits, Pistachios, Plumbs, Apricocks and Cherries', the President would usually invite the whole factory to 'some pleasant garden adjacent to the city, where they might sit shaded from the Beams of the Sun, and refresht by the neighbourhood of Tanques and Water-Works'. Hither would come the President and his Lady in Palanquins, with 'a noise of Trumpets' and preceded by Peons bearing 'St. George his colours Swallow-tailed in Silk', with others leading before him 'curious Persian or Arabian Horses of State, Rich in their trappings and gallantly equipt'; next to him would come the members of Council in large coaches 'drawn by a pair of stately Oxen', while the factors would follow on horseback, with saddles of velvet and headstalls, reins and cruppers all covered with solid wrought silver.[2] Certainly a 'Pompous Procession', and we must hope that such garden-parties provided satisfactory recreation after a week of hurly-burly.

For those who preferred a less stately amusement there was plenty of shooting to be had; and Anglo-Indian sportsmen will be amused to learn the antiquity of one of their stock jokes. 'Mr. Chune and Mr. Portman', writes Gerald Aungier in a letter to a friend, still preserved in the India Office,[3] 'have

[1] Letter from Streynsham Master, quoted by Yule in *Hedges' Diary*, ii. 306. Master was on the Surat Council, and afterwards Governor of Madras.

[2] Ovington.

[3] O.C. 3223, November 1, 1667. This was before Aungier became

kild a brave buck, 6 mile beyond Mundloo—Mr. Master and I were out two dayes, and killed een(?) Kootchny.'

On the whole we get a picture of an industrious and orderly community, and Padre Ovington, who is so severe on the morals of the English in Bombay, has nothing to say against Surat; but it is not surprising that we find in so small a circle, and one so destitute of outside society, a good deal of that petty jealousy and party spirit which is so apt to breed in even larger and more enlightened bodies of officials.

Besides the English house, the Dutch and French Companies had also their factories in Surat; the former flourishing and prosperous, the latter 'better stored with Monsieurs than with Cash', who nevertheless, 'not to defraud them of their just Commendations, live well, borrow Money, and make a Shew'.[1] For we find the great President Aungier writing home for a trumpeter 'in regard the French have two and the Dutch one', and we must keep up the dignity of the nation; at present we 'serve ourselves, for fashion's sake, of a young man who hath little or no skill'.[2]

The Portuguese, the first European nation to settle in India, had no factory in Surat,[3] and their position on the west coast was quite different from that of either English, Dutch, or French. None of these nations owned a foot of territory in Western India, until Bombay was given to Charles II in 1661, and their factories were all, like that of the English at Surat, mere warehouses and offices planted under the native governments; the Portuguese on the other hand had extensive and fortified territorial possessions along the coast, and had now no factories on land belonging to the country powers. Their system indeed had been very different from ours; where the English would hire a house and apply for a firmaund, the Portuguese would seize a town by force

President. His companion was the Streynsham Master referred to above.

[1] Fryer, i. 225. [2] Forrest, p. 45.

[3] Both Campbell (*Bombay Gazetteer*), and Danvers speak of a Portuguese factory at Surat; but there seems no reason to suppose that there was at this time any such thing. Doubtless there were several Portuguese traders living in Surat city, just as there were Armenians, Arabs, and other foreigners.

of arms and turn it into a self-supporting colony. Where the English would spend a life of exile in the hope of eventually returning to Europe with a competence, the Portuguese would settle down, build a villa, and marry and die in the country. The English were foreign traders, the Portuguese conquering colonists.

Their chief possessions were Goa and Bassein with its dependent islands of Salsette and Bombay; here the descendants of Albuquerque's warlike followers lived in a degenerate but arrogant idleness, in luxurious villas and among their own imported institutions; here Jesuit colleges, monasteries, and the Holy Inquisition were all to be found in full swing. But European colonists in India sink rapidly in a few generations; and by the latter half of the seventeenth century the Portuguese Fidalgos had little left of their forefathers' qualities save overweening pride, and were already looked down upon by the other Europeans as an inferior race, considerable only for their possessions.

But though the rivalry of the other western nations was often a sore trial, it was neither with Dutch, French, nor Portuguese, that the English in Surat had mainly to reckon at that time; it was on their relations with the country powers that their prosperity and their very existence in India depended. Our notion of these relations is apt to be derived from the better known period of a hundred years later; we conceive of the Native power as an inflated bladder to be easily pricked by a handful of British soldiers, or British-trained sepoys. But a hundred years later the Mogul empire had broken up, and what it was possible then to achieve among its distracted and broken fragments, would have been out of the question while Aurungzebe's power and personality still held the Empire together. And above all the concerns, large or small, of the European Companies and their servants, loomed the great figure of the Mogul Governor of Surat, sometimes friendly and patronizing, sometimes fierce and arbitrary, but always as imposing as a schoolmaster among children; to be flattered, cajoled, deceived, or even at times defied, but to be neglected never.

Such was the position of the East India Company in Western

India when, in 1661, the Island of Bombay with its harbour was made over to Charles II by the Portuguese, as a part of his queen's dowry. The details of this transaction must be sought elsewhere, and here we need only say that the King put a Sir Gervase Lucas in charge as Governor, on whose death it was decided that the island produced no adequate return for the trouble and expense of its maintenance. His Majesty was therefore pleased to make it over to the East India Company, to whom it was more likely to be of value, and who thenceforward held it of the Crown 'in free or common Soccage as of the Manor of East Greenwich, on payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold'.[1] The transfer was made in 1668 to Sir George Oxinden, the Company's President at Surat, by Captain Henry Gary, who, since Lucas's death, had been acting as the King's Governor.

Gary was quite a character among the English in India at that period; in the Five Towns he would certainly have been a 'Card.' Even to the stately Court of Committees[2] he became at last 'Old Gary',[3] a sort of recognized institution whose misdoings were not to be too seriously taken. Fryer describes him as 'a Person of a Mercurial Brain, a better merchant than soldier', a polite reference to the lack of personal courage which was one of his prominent characteristics. Born a Venetian citizen, of English parents,[4] and speaking English, Italian, Portuguese, Latin, and French with equal facility, this polyglot personage[5] came out to India in 1645 as a factor;[6] he subsequently drifted to Acheen, where, being a 'perfect courtier', he won favour and a peerage from the Queen.[7] In 1656 he was discharged by the Company to reduce expenses,[8] but in 1664 we find him third in Oxinden's Council at Surat, and senior to Gerald Aungier; at which date he is mentioned as having 'at times'

[1] Letters Patent dated March 27, 1668, printed in full in the India Office Library Quarto of Charters, pp. 80–95.

[2] The Governing Body of the East India Company, which met in Leadenhall Street; it became afterwards the Court of Directors.

[3] Letter Book 8, March 26, 1686. [4] Fryer, ii. 30.

[5] In the documents recording the transfer of Bombay, his name occurs as Henri Gueri. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xxvi, part 1, 21., and the Portuguese Viceroy at the same date calls him 'Henrique Guery.' (Danvers, ii. 356.))

[6] Hedges, *Diary*, ii. 323. [7] Fryer, ii. 30. [8] Hedges, ii. 323.

served the Company for some twenty years.[1] He next turns up in 1666 as Deputy Governor of Bombay under the King's Governor Sir Gervase Lucas, on whose death he was in charge until he made over the Island to Sir George Oxinden, the Company's President. How he came by his title of Captain we do not know, any more than we can understand how he fell into so many responsible positions for which he was manifestly unqualified; for officially he seems to have had little in his favour beyond his linguistic talents, which indeed had made him as good a master of Oriental as of European languages.[2] His speech and letters were full of 'unadvised vaine glorious boastings', as Sir George Oxinden puts it.[3] Yet we see men of all parties, and even the implacable John Child himself, taking turns in hoisting Gary into offices, and in easing his descent when he had got into trouble; a fact that argues, we take it, that personally at least he was well liked.

On laying down his charge, Gary retired for a time into private life, living on in Bombay as a freeman, where we shall meet him again.

Sir George Oxinden died the next year, 1669, and was succeeded as President of Surat and Governor of Bombay by Gerald Aungier, who has been truly described as the real founder of Bombay, and who directed all his remarkable energy and capacity to the development of the Company's new possession.

To explain Aungier's devotion to an island that had only been made over to his employers because it was a white elephant, and that for a number of years continued a great expense to them without any compensating trade advantages, we must refer to certain events which had recently occurred in India, historically important in themselves, and destined to have far-reaching effects on the future both of that country and of the East India Company,—the rise, namely, of the Mahratta power.

[1] Forrest, p. 17. Surat Council to the Court, January 28, 1663/4.

[2] He 'is skilled in most of the Languages of the Country, and is now writing a Piece in Arabick, which he dedicates to the Viceroy' of Goa.—Fryer.

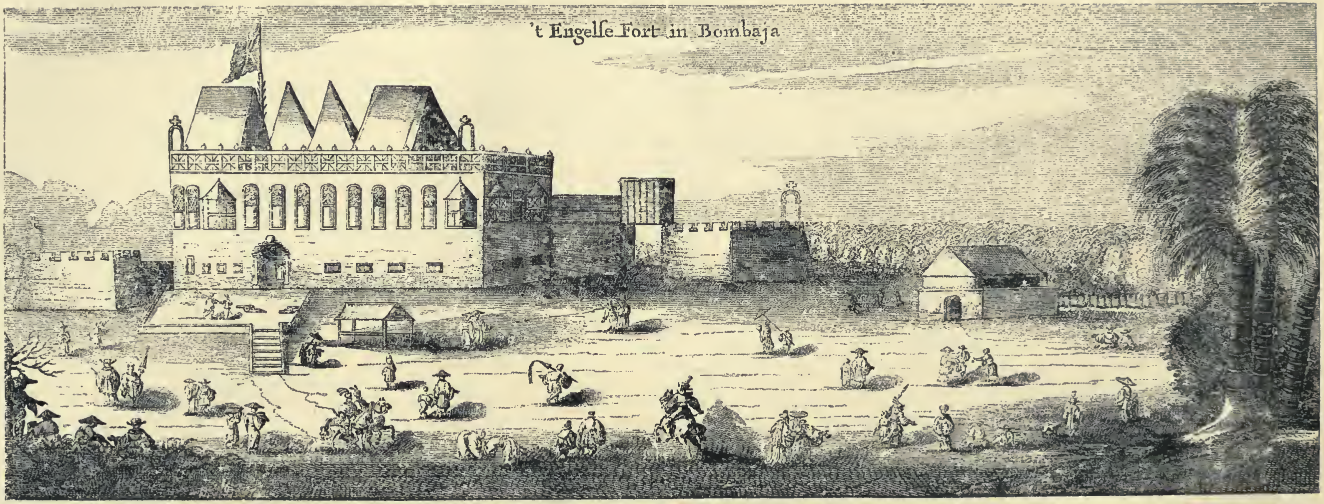
[3] Forrest, p. 222.

The reign of Aurungzebe, which saw the culmination of the power of the Moguls, saw also the beginning of its disruption; the very expansion of the empire weakened its foundations, and the inevitable process of disintegration began while yet Aurungzebe's conquests were incomplete. Sivaji, whose father had been a petty chieftain of Poona, in the service of the King of Bijapur, and who had been in arms against the Moguls since Aurungzebe's accession to the throne, had met with persistent success; and had made such good use of his opportunities that by 1669, when Aungier assumed charge at Surat, a new national power—that of the Mahrattas—had already sprung into being and importance in Western India under his leadership. The possessions of Sivaji at this time stretched from Kallian, just north of Bombay, to Goa in the south, and comprised a strip of coast about a hundred miles in width; and the enterprise and unexpectedness of his raids kept the whole country in terror, from Surat to the Carnatic.

The former city he twice seized and looted; in 1664, when Oxinden was President, and again in 1670 in Aungier's first year of office. On both occasions the English, by a courageous and resolute display of their tiny force, saved their own factory; but it was evident they could not rely on such escapes for the future.

The Company's policy at this time was the reverse of aggressive; they were, and were to continue, a mere body of traders for whom anything in the way of hostilities was quite out of the question. Such a policy, or rather such a determination to keep out of Indian politics, was quite unimpeachable, and doubtless had the Mogul's dominion remained unimpaired, and strong enough to maintain internal peace, and give protection to trade, there would have been no departure from it; for whatever may be argued about our later territorial expansion in India, its beginning was forced upon the Company in its endeavours to save itself from being overwhelmed in the débris of the crumbling Mogul empire.

President Aungier was faced with the fact that the Emperor's power was unable to protect the strangers within his gates, and that the Company was quite without the



BOMBAY FORT FROM THE LAND C. 1720

necessary force to take care of itself. With the growth of the evil there were only two alternatives; our trade in India must be abandoned or protected, and there was no power to protect it but our own.

It was in these circumstances that President Aungier turned his eyes to the Company's newly acquired fort in Bombay; as early as 1672 he urged the advisability of transferring the Company's head-quarters thither from Surat,[1] and though his views were too long to meet acceptance with the Court at home, he continued to exert himself to the utmost in strengthening and developing his fortified Island.

It is not within the scope of this book to give an account of Aungier's government; but it is necessary to our purpose to review the general conditions of life on Bombay in the last quarter of the century, conditions which had undergone a considerable change since the time of the Portuguese, owing partly to the development of its resources under Aungier's guidance, and partly to the outside political events.

The importance of Bombay lay, as we have seen, more in its unrivalled harbour, and its very defensible fort, than in its possibilities for trade, in which point it was for long a source of disappointment to the Company.

The fort, overlooking the harbour, stood at the south-east corner of the Island; in it there were mounted, at the time of Dr. Fryer's account,[2] 120 pieces of ordnance, besides 60 field pieces on carriages ready for use outside. A strong enough place to scare off even a Dutch fleet,[3] though its defences were not yet completed; horn works and St. Thomas's bastion being still in process of construction. North of the fort lay the town, which was a full mile in length, and inhabited 'confusedly' by English, Portuguese, Topazes,[4] Gentues,[5] Moors, and Cooly Christians, mostly fishermen. The houses were low, and generally thatched with palm-leaves, though the custom-house and some others built by

[1] Forrest, p. 50. Letter from Aungier to the Court, February 3, 1671/2.
[2] Fryer, i. 170. He was the Company's medical officer in Bombay in 1673–5.
[3] Orme's *Fragments*. This was in the Dutch war of 1672–4.
[4] Half-castes. See p. 97 note 1. [5] Hindus.

the Company were tiled and plastered. Instead of glass, there were 'Panes of Oister-shells for the Windows, which as they are cut in Squares, and polished, look gracefully enough'.[1]

To the south lay Old Woman's Island (now Colaba), used as a kind of zoological gardens and stocked with 'the Company's Antelopes and other Beasts of Delight'.[2]

Northward of the town was Mazagon, then a separate village peopled chiefly with fishermen, and beyond it Parel and Sion; while on the north-west of the island lay Mahim, where was a custom-house, and a fortified guard-house, facing the Portuguese on Salsette. The latter island was also claimed by the English under Charles's marriage settlement, but the Portuguese on the spot persistently refused to give it up, and lying as it did between Bombay and the mainland, it gave them endless opportunities, in which they freely indulged, of worrying the English by customs regulations and so forth.

The government of the Island was conducted, under the President of Surat, by the Deputy Governor and Bombay Council, besides whom there were a few factors, a doctor, and a chaplain; the regular English servants of the Company did not exceed some fifteen or twenty souls. For the rest, besides the soldiers, of whom we shall speak later, there were a few freemen, and a varying number of women and children.

The freemen of Bombay were an interesting body; they were mostly retired captains or other employés of the Company, and we find them continually being taken on again in the most various functions, and as continually being discharged. Gary we have seen as one of them; and from their ranks was chosen the first English judge[3] who sat in Bombay, Captain Thomas Niccolls, selected for that post by Aungier when he set up his new Courts of Justice. Indeed nothing came amiss to these old sailors; Niccolls himself we find laying aside his

[1] Fryer, i. 172. [2] Id. i. 177.

[3] Before his time cases were tried by a Mr. Wilcox in the building which Aungier later turned into the hospital (Forrest). Wilcox had no salary, beyond his pay as a factor, and was apparently a kind of honorary magistrate. Niccolls was the first to have a judge's emoluments and honours.

judge's robes[1] only to put on the uniform of an infantry captain, and spending the interval in the rôle of ambassador, with a letter from Charles II to the Viceroy of Goa.[2]

The freemen of Bombay contributed their full share to the events we are about to describe; for Keigwin himself began his Indian career as a free planter on the Island, and the rebels' admiral, Stephen Adderton,[3] came also from their ranks.

The Company's rule did wonders as regards the population. When it passed to the English crown the Island contained but 10,000 inhabitants; but with the encouragement given by Aungier to all classes of useful settlers, great numbers of artificers, banians, brokers, and Armenians had immigrated, till in 1674 it numbered as many as 60,000.[4] Keigwin indeed, ten years later, during his rebellion, estimated the population at 100,000,[5] but this was probably an exaggeration. One great attraction was the full toleration of any kind of religion on the Island, a contrast to the methods of the Portuguese, in whose possessions the Inquisition was in full blast; but though religious persecution had been abolished, the bulk of the Christians on Bombay were still Papist Portuguese or Portuguese half-castes, and theirs were the only churches on the Island. A fine English church was indeed begun in Aungier's time, but in spite of his exertions its walls rose only fifteen feet from the ground, and so remained until 1715 for lack of funds.[6]

The resources of the Island were quite unequal to supplying food for so many inhabitants, and consequently it had to be brought in from the mainland. Aungier had established a

[1] Aungier ordered his salary to be £120 per annum 'and that he be allowed a horse or Pallankeen with a Sumbrera boy, as also a Gowne yearly at the Company's charge'. Forrest, p. 73. Letter to Bombay dated December 18, 1675.

[2] O.C. 4301, December, 1677.

[3] Adderton, like Niccolls, was one of the small band who were constantly receiving casual employment from the Company; we find him in command of the Militia, and then out of work for a time, after which he was given the *Hunter* frigate, one of the two vessels allotted to Bombay.

[4] Fryer, i. 177.

[5] O. C. 5071. Letter from Keigwin to Charles II, February 23, 1683/4.

[6] Vide Appendix D.

market under the Company's supervision, and one of the English officials was the Clerk of the Market, who, under the Deputy Governor's directions, regulated the import of provisions, and also the price at which they were to be sold on the Island. This matter was one of the recurring difficulties of Bombay, and became aggravated as, owing to the war between the Mahrattas and the Emperor, provisions became scarcer and more expensive on the mainland.

But the greatest source of trouble was the terrible mortality among the English at Bombay; two monsoons, was the saying, is the span of a man's life there, and though Aungier built a hospital, matters showed no signs of improvement. Dr. Bird, then chirurgeon at Bombay, in his report to Aungier on the subject in 1673, attributed it chiefly to the 'Irregularity and Intemperance' of the inhabitants,[1] and there seems a general consensus of opinion that excessive drinking and other debaucheries, coupled with a complete disregard of the commonest precautions in illness, were at the bottom of it. The punch-houses of Bombay were notorious, and the letters from the Court at home contain frequent, though apparently ineffectual, instructions to put them down, or regulate them better. The morals of Bombay continued to be scandalous, and Bombay punch continued to get the blame for it. Besides punch-houses for the soldiers, there was also a coffee-house which we hear of as frequented by members of Council.[2]

Captain Minchin, of one of the Company's vessels, fell out one evening with Mr. Hornigold, a factor, and a duel resulted. 'Wee observe what you write,' remarked President Aungier to the Council of Bombay,[3] 'in your letter and Consultation, touching the quarrell and duel fought between Captain Minchin and Mr. Hornigold, which is the usuall effect of that accursed Bombay Punch, to the shame, scandall, and ruine of our nation and religion. Wee thought Mr. Hornigold and Captain Minchin had been persons of a more sober and regular conversation; and that they had more regard to the Company's authority, the observation of the lawes and

[1] O.C., 3730. Bird's Report, January 1672/3. [2] Vide p. 74.
[3] Forrest, p. 78. Aungier to Bombay, January 24, 1675/6.

Government, and to their owne reputation, then to render themselves soe scandalous as they have done, first in besotting themselves with drunkenness, and afterwards in breaking the lawes. Wee doe very well approve of what you have done in suspending them from their offices, and doe discommend the rediculous policy of that Gentleman who was of the contrary opinion.' And he fines them each fifty zeraphins[1] towards the cost of the new hospital.

Captain Minchin's ship was the *Revenge* which, with the *Hunter* frigate, had been permanently stationed at Bombay to protect the Company's shipping from the Malabar and Sanganye pirates. These bloodthirsty ruffians were at this time a perfect scourge; living in countless villages and towns along the coast, they would sally out in their 'grabs and gallivats', sailing ships with two or three masts, and oared galleys, and working in concert would lie in wait for their prey. Their tactics were those of the vulture; they would sail in small parties, each within sight of the next, and covering an enormous distance, so that it was very hard to avoid them; on the appearance of a vessel, the word would be signalled along, and from both sides they would crowd in on the wretched victim. Their main quarry were the native coasting traders, who would bolt like rabbits from port to port, but European ships, unless very well armed, had no terrors for them.[2]

In 1677 they captured a European in a coasting vessel, and demanded ransom for him from Mr. George Bowcher, who was then chief of the Company's factory at Calicut; this being refused, they set the unfortunate man against a tree and lanced him to death.[3]

Another and most serious vexation, that began in Aungier's time, and grew progressively worse, was the annual visit of the Siddi. This personage was a very different character from the Sedee boy of our modern Indian steamboats, who inherits

[1] A zeraphin was worth about twenty pence.

[2] For accounts of the Malabar and Sanganye pirates see Hamilton, Fryer, Thevenot, and contemporary authorities passim.

[3] Forrest, p. 130. Bombay to Surat, April 3, 1677.

his name; he was in reality a sort of naval *condottiere*, who kept up a large fleet in Aurungzebe's service for use against Sivaji. Nominally under the orders of the Governor of Surat, from whose treasury his subsidy was paid, he was actually a separate power to be dealt with. He early discovered the advantages of Bombay harbour as a refuge during the monsoon, and accordingly every year from June to September saw his ships wintering[1] there, and his men let loose on the Island itself or the adjacent mainland.

Apart from the trouble such unruly visitors naturally gave on Bombay, the position was particularly delicate, as the strip of mainland across the harbour, to the east, known as the Corlahs, was among Sivaji's most valued properties. Moreover, it was of vital necessity to keep on good terms with that chieftain, as the jealousy of the Portuguese had led them not only to impose a ruinous tariff of 10 per cent. on everything crossing to and from Salsette, but to prevent the importation of provisions to Bombay through their territory;[2] so that the Island depended for its very supplies, as well as its communications with the markets in the interior, on the goodwill of Sivaji. Yet the favourite recreation of the Siddi and his men, in their months of idleness in harbour, was to harry his lands and carry off his people into slavery.

It was impossible to keep the Siddi out, without the danger of having to resort to open hostilities, a course that was out of the question, considering the position of the Company at Surat; such an affront to the Mogul would have entailed the immediate confiscation of their factory there, to say nothing of the safety of its inmates. All that Aungier and his successors could do was to make a show of neutrality, by admitting the Siddi on the understanding that he would make no raids on Sivaji's land while in the harbour; terms which that admiral willingly agreed to, but made little effort to stand by; while the outrages committed by his men on the Island, remaining

[1] Although of course the height of summer, the phrase 'winter' was always used in this connexion. So also with troops, which went into winter quarters during the rains.

[2] Forrest, p. 120. Bombay to the Company, January 24, 1676/7. This letter is given in full in Appendix E.

unredressed, enraged the garrison, and, as we shall see, were one of the causes of Keigwin's rebellion.

The regular troops in the Bombay Fort generally consisted of two companies of British Infantry; but the mortality was always very heavy among the soldiers, and the drafts from home were often not enough to supply the vacancies in their ranks. Aungier had been obliged to reduce the two companies to one, till in 1671 the Company sent out from England another full company under a Captain Shaxton, who was to have command of all the troops on the Island. The garrison was composed of troops recruited by the Company in England, and we meet with continual complaints, from successive Deputy Governors of Bombay, that they came from the dregs of the populace, in spite of assurances from the Court that they were 'stout men, well disciplined, and of good report'.[1] On a suggestion from Aungier,[2] in the attempt to improve their morals, and to provide a rising Protestant population in Bombay, the Court sent out drafts of women to be wives for the soldiers; but the remedy was not successful, for the women sent out were by no means 'of good report' as a rule, and the irregularities on the Island became more gross and scandalous than ever.

In addition to the regular garrison, Aungier organized a militia of the inhabitants, of a strength of some five or six hundred men, chiefly Portuguese Eurasians. All landholders were obliged to serve, with certain exceptions, such as the Banians, who were allowed exemption on a money payment.[3]

Captain Shaxton, who as we have seen was in command of all these troops, was also given the rank of Deputy Governor to strengthen his position. He brought his family with him, and some time in the course of the following year, 1672, he married his daughter Susannah to Mr. John Child, one of the Company's factors then stationed on the Island, and a protagonist in this story; from whose introduction, having sufficiently laid the scene, we may pass on to a more connected account of the subsequent events.

[1] Court Minutes, January 26, 1680/1.
[2] Forrest, p. 55. Aungier to the Court. February 3, 1672/2; Fryer, i. 179.
[3] Vide Appendix E.

CHAPTER II

JOHN CHILD AND JOHN PETTIT IN BOMBAY 1674–7

In the universal obscurity which has hitherto shrouded this period of Anglo-Indian history, one gleam of light only has been visible, that of the twin constellation known as the brothers Child.

Sir Josia Child, the supreme controller of the East India Company's affairs during the last two decades of the seventeenth century, was one of the most remarkable figures of his time. Rising from obscurity by a phenomenal combination of business ability, driving force, and capacity for intrigue, he acquired while comparatively young an immense fortune and a commanding position in the City. The fish-ponds which he laid out with characteristic prodigality on his estate at Wanstead, and which are mentioned by both Pepys and Evelyn, were the resource of what leisure moments he could spare from the affairs of the East India Company; to whose guidance and aggrandisement, after his election as one of the twenty-four 'Committees' in 1674, he devoted the whole of his extraordinary energies.

While Josia was in authority in Leadenhall Street, John Child occupied the chief position among the Company's servants in India; in 1682 he became President of Surat, and in 1687 he was given supreme control, not of Western India only, but of all the Company's factories in the East, being thus the first to hold the position of Governor General.[1]

The close association between these two conspicuous figures and the resemblance, not only of their policies but of their characters, could not have been more striking had they indeed been brothers; yet in spite of the unquestioned and

[1] But not the title, which in his time was 'General' merely.

unquestioning assertions of all the historians from Bruce to Hunter, there is no room for doubt; Josia and John Child were certainly not brothers, and there is no reason to suppose that they were even remotely related.

Josia was the son of a Mr. Richard Child of London; John of a Theophilus Child, one time Clerk of the Stock Market in the same City. Josia's mother had been a Miss Roycraft, John's a Miss Goodier.[1]

An uncle of John Child's, Mr. John Goodier, had been for long on the Council of Surat, and was the first Deputy Governor of Bombay, having been specially selected by Sir George Oxinden to take over the Island on behalf of the Company, owing to his friendship with 'old Gary', the King's Governor.[2] It was in this uncle's house, in India, that John Child and his two sisters were brought up, and it was to him that the future 'General of India' owed his admission to the service. On the 25th of November, 1666, we find a private letter from Goodier to a member of the Court,[3] thanking him for a promise to promote some request concerning 'my Cozen Child', which was presumably John's appointment; and on October 16th of the next year we read in the Court Minutes that 'the Court, being put in minde of what they had written to Sir George Oxinden in answer to his desires concerning one Henry Bromfield and John Childe, that have been a long time imployed by him at Surratt, were pleased to direct that they bee admitted to serve the Companie as Factors there.' On his retirement John Goodier went home and was himself elected as one of the Committees,[4] when he doubtless continued to exert his influence in his nephew's behalf, for in 1684 we find John Child, in a letter to the Court, referring to his obligations to Sir Josia and his 'deare Unkle, Mr. John Goodier'.[5]

[1] Vide records in the Herald's Office. For a further discussion of their connexion see Appendix A.

[2] Forrest, i. 225. Consultation at Surat, September 3, 1668.

[3] O. C. 3203. To John Stanian.

[4] Court Book 28, April 18, 1673.

[5] O. C. 5060, January 14, 1683/4. We are now in a position to consider the passage from Hamilton, i. 245, which has hitherto been the only authority for John Child's early years. 'Rajapore,' he says, 'the Place where General Child had his Education, from ten Years old to eighteen,

It was not John Goodier's influence, however, but the far more powerful patronage of Sir Josia that pushed John Child into his place in history. The bond between the two Childs, if not one of blood or of friendship, for they can never have met, was the no less strong tie of mutual interest. If we find Josia hushing up his namesake's misdoings, crushing his rivals as ruthlessly as though they were his own, and, after foisting him into the Presidentship by a piece of gross jobbery, supporting him unceasingly through good and evil, and showering praises and rewards upon him on the slightest of grounds, it was because it was vital to his own supremacy to have his own creature at the head of affairs in India; if we find John, overbearing himself by nature, submitting his will, sinking his personality, and shaping every detail of his policy to Josia's slightest wish, it was because his success depended entirely on the support of that tyrant. Josia needed a tool in India, John a patron at home; and with John Goodier at Josia's elbow the alliance was natural.

Of the Company's servants in India, only three men were by their abilities and position in the service suitable to Josia's purpose; two of these, John Pettit and Henry Oxinden, were not only too independent in character, but were in addition too closely connected with prominent figures in Leadenhall Street to serve his turn. The third, John Child, was a nobody, without friends or relations of any importance at home; and his lack of any other patron was the very qualification most useful to Josia, who could thus rely on his unhesitating support even against other influences in the Court itself. It would seem

under his Uncle Mr. Goodshaw, who was Chief there, and having betrayed some of his Uncle's Secrets, in making use of the Company's Cash in his own private Trade, his Uncle was cashier'd, and, before the Nephew was come to four and twenty, he had the Honour to fill his chair.' It is clear that we should read Goodier for Goodshaw. A Mr. Joseph Goodshaw makes frequent appearances in the Surat Records about 1700, and was therefore probably personally known to Hamilton. It is not unlikely that his name took possession of Hamilton's pen, and, by a trick that most writers have experienced, supplanted the very similar name of Goodier. We may, then, accept Hamilton's statement that John Child was brought up in India by his uncle, but so far from believing the discreditable account of his appointment, it is clear that Goodier obtained a factorship for him, for which he retained a proper sense of gratitude.

that Josia made his choice early, as is evidenced by the case of John's father-in-law, Shaxton, which we have now to describe; for the conduct of the Court was then so much of a piece with all its subsequent action wherever John Child was concerned, that it is impossible not to recognize the hand of Josia at work, already shielding his *protégé*.

In the hot weather or rains of 1674, President Aungier, at that time staying in Bombay, discovered, and nipped in the bud, an incipient mutiny that might have had very serious consequences. The principal grievance of the soldiers was that most fruitful source of mutinies, irregularity in their pay, and the trouble was due apparently to debased coinage.[1]

The monetary system of Bombay was extraordinarily complicated. The standard coin at this time on Bombay was the xeraphine or zeraphine of Goa, worth about twenty pence, but varying with the exchange; few of these xeraphines were in circulation on the Island, and the soldiers were paid in small tin or copper coins,[2] of which the exchange value in terms of xeraphines, also varied considerably. Their complaint was that the fixed rate at which they were paid did not correspond with the actual exchange value of their nominal salary, and that they were in fact heavy losers. The pay of a private soldier, or 'centinell', was twenty-one shillings a month; this had to be turned into imaginary zeraphins, and these again into current coin, both operations being calculated at a rate fixed by the Company, so that it is easy to see there was every chance of the soldiers being real sufferers.

Aungier consistently declined to listen to any argument on this point; so that matters remained in the same unsatisfactory state, and provided in Keigwin's mutiny also the chief grievance of the soldiers. For the present, Aungier's decisive measures averted the outbreak, and one of the ringleaders afforded the first example in Bombay of an execution under martial law by the Company. What is more to our purpose is that the Deputy Governor, Captain Shaxton, himself fell under suspicion of fomenting the trouble, and that with him was involved his son-in-law, John Child, at that time a factor in Bombay.

[1] Fryer, i. 304. [2] Budgerooks and dugonys.

Aungier relates[1] how he had the opportunity of catching all the conspirators red-handed at one of their councils, but forbore through a somewhat natural fear of discovering more than it would be convenient to deal with. Of Shaxton's guilt he was at any rate firmly convinced, and after an inconclusive trial on the Island, at which the prosecution 'with some borrowed Rhetorick' made the Captain a second Catiline,[2] Aungier shipped him off to England to be dealt with by the Court.

Before they got news of this mutiny, the Court had written to Aungier, calling for a report on Shaxton and Child; we extract the correspondence, which is interesting not only as containing Aungier's opinion of John Child, but also as exhibiting a very early and characteristic instance of the methods of the great Josia.

'We are informed', write the Court on March 5, 1674/5,[3] 'that we are very much wronged in the management of our Mynt at Bombay to a great value yearly between Capt. Shaxton and Mr. Child, his sonn-in-law; we require you to examine into the truth thereof, that the persons that have so wronged us may make us satisfaction, and in regard we have found it much to our prejudice that relations should be imployed in one affair or place, we require you to put some able person in Mr. Child's roome, and the whole of that bussiness into such an order for the future as that we may not suffer by the ill practises of our servants imployed therein; and informe us fully of the actings of Mr. Shaxton and Mr. Child not only in this respect, but in other particulars, for that we have information as to the latter that he hath much misbehaved himselfe towards us both in language and action.'

Aungier's reply is dated January 17, 1675/6:[4]

'You desire to be fully informed touching the proceedings of Capt. John Shaxton and his sonn-in-law Mr. John Child; your President would be excused from writing anything concerning them, in regard those two Gentlemen have expressed a irreconcillable antipathy against him, but seeing it is his and all our dutys to owne the truth, and declare it, . . . wee shall advise you what wee know. First as to your mint, wee never heard they wronged you, nor can imagine how they could— . . . Now as to their deportment in other respects; wee can noe wayes

[1] O. C. 3987. Aungier to Surat Council. [2] Fryer, i. 30.
[3] Letter Book 5. [4] O. C. 4163.

commend their prudence or moderation; for indeed they did not behave themselves as they ought. Touching Capt. Shaxton wee gave you a large Account the last yeare . . . which wee shall not now aggravate but leave him to your Justice. As to Mr. Child having observed his humour not a little troublesome, (though otherwise reasonably experienced and quallifyed to serve you) wee thought good to appoint him Cheife of your factory of Rajapore; wee have heard formerly from Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Willoughby that he did misbehave himselfe towards you in Language, when he was in Persia; touching which he excused himselfe to us afterwards. His behaviour in B'bay in respect to the troubles there was much questioned; but he acted very subtilly; and laid all the blame on his father-in-law; and therefore wee could not be soe unjust as to proceed severly against him . . . but thought it best to remove him of the Island to Rajapur, where we wish his demeanour may be such as to cancell all his former imprudencys.'

This letter, even had it not Gerald Aungier's signature, bears evident marks of the moderation and sound judgement of its writer; and the subsequent career of John Child, as these pages will show, gives the fullest confirmation to the estimate of his character which it contains.

The Court at this time was very free with its dismissals, and to judge from its somewhat truculent tone in calling for the report, there was little reason to expect that Child would escape the common fate of its refractory servants. But by the time Aungier's reply reached England, Josia Child's[1] powerful will had begun to dominate the Court, and the next letter to Surat (the first which bears Josia's signature) dismisses the whole affair with a wave of the hand. One tiny paragraph is devoted to it, which we give in full.

'Wee take Notice[2] how Contrary to Our expectation Captain Shaxton did behave himselfe; he arrived here sick and is since dead, so that We had no conference with him. We desire you to affoard his widdow the best advice you can as to her stay there or coming home.'

The incident was closed with a snap; and it is not surprising to hear that Aungier himself about this time began to be

[1] He was first elected a Committee in 1674.
[2] Letter Book 5. March 8, 1675/6.

viewed with disfavour in Leadenhall Street. 'I perceive', writes a correspondent[1] to Streynsham Master, 'our Friend Mr Gerard Aungier doth not now att last please the Comittee and others; they all say hee is making up his Bundell.'

Meanwhile John Child, 'very subtile and not a little troublesome, though otherwise reasonably experienced', retired with his brother-in-law Charles Ward[2] for his 'second', to open a new factory at Rajapore; where he showed himself at first in the sulks. For a whole year he would write no letter to Aungier, sending him only copies of his letters to Ward, 'which as a Novelty and a Caprichio yet unpractised by any Cheifes of Factorys to the President and Council, . . . wee pray him to forbear hereafter.'[3]

President Aungier returned to Surat in September, 1675, leaving Philip Gyffard as Deputy Governor of Bombay; Gyffard was very sick, and the actual work fell almost entirely on his second, John Pettit, a man who was at this time coming to the front.

In March of the following year, 1676, a crisis of considerable danger arose. A Malabar vessel, with an English pass, ran into Bombay harbour for protection against a Portuguese ship that was giving her chase. The Portuguese demanded that she should be delivered up as their prize, and when this was refused, Manoel de Saldanha, their Captain General of the North, flying into a fury, 'summons all the Ffidalgoes and force under his Jurisdiction, and having sent about 1,200 men by land and about 300 men by sea, comes in person to Bandora,[4] publikely declaring his Resolution to take Mahim, and burne and destroy the rest of your Island Bombay.'[5] Gyffard, the Deputy Governor, was unable to leave his bed, so John Pettit with Judge Niccolls and the rest of the Council,

[1] Hedges, ii, p. ccxlvi.
[2] Ward had married Child's sister Jane, who was probably also brought up in Goodier's house.
[3] Bombay Factory Records 7. Aungier to Rajapur, September 8, 1675. Child went to Rajapur in September, 1674.
[4] On Salsette, just opposite to Mahim.
[5] Forrest, p. 92. Surat to the Court, April 7, 1676.

taking with them one of the garrison companies and five or six hundred militia, with five field-pieces, marched up to Mahim in good order. But the day of the Portuguese had already gone by, and the businesslike appearance of Pettit and his militant judge acted as a cold douche on the hectoring Captain General; after a few 'haughty and bloody speeches', filled with 'rancor and contempt of your Honours and the Nation',[1] he and his Ffidalgoes melted away.

In September, Gyffard was taken to Swally in hopes that the change of air might restore him, and Pettit was left to act as Deputy Governor, in which office he was confirmed on Gyffard's death in November.

Hitherto, Pettit has been unduly neglected by the historians of our forefathers in India; his fame has eked out a precarious sort of livelihood in foot-notes; and while such characters as Richard Keigwin, Henry Oxinden, and even old Gary, make frequent, if somewhat vague, appearances as dramatis personae, John Pettit has been scarcely allowed to walk on in the procession. The truth is that from this time till his death in 1684, he shared the stage with John Child; and the history of the English in Western India during this decade revolves almost entirely round these two champions and the struggle between them.

Pettit was of good birth and powerful connexions, and he makes his entry with a flourish. At a Court of Commitees held 13th November, 1661, we read[2]:

> 'Upon a request in a letter of the Lord George Berkeley, the Court was pleased, through the respect they owe his Lordship, although they had resolved by their late Order not to ellect any more ffactors or Youngmen this yeare for India; Nevertheless upon his recommendation to entertaine John Petite to goe a Youngman for India.'

As a junior he specially distinguished himself in Oxinden's defence of the Surat factory in 1664, during Sivaji's first raid,[3] and was afterwards for many years chief of Calicut on the Malabar coast, coming from thence to Bombay, where he was made Deputy Governor in 1676.

[1] Ibid. [2] Court Book 24. [3] Hedges, ii. 302.

The post of Deputy Governor of Bombay was usually held by the third in the Grand Council of the Presidency, the second being as a rule Agent in Persia; and though Pettit was not actually third in seniority, yet, with the exception of Rolt in Persia, the others above him were old stagers[1] little likely to be serious candidates for the Presidency. And now, with Aungier making up his bundle, and Gyffard dead, the prospect of promotion was opening out rapidly.

It was indeed high time for John Child to be moving; Pettit's new position gave him such a definitely senior status as it would be hard to shake later on, and Child's chances of the Presidency looked small; for his rival was little, if at all, older than himself, and not the man to fall a victim to Bombay punch. Moreover, Pettit was not the only rival, for Henry Oxinden's name stood also above Child's; and whereas Child had little to hope from Aungier's recommendations, Pettit stood high in the President's favour, and was his personal friend.

However, there was no need to despair while Josia and Goodier were at the East India House, and accordingly, early in 1677, John Child sent home a petition[2] claiming seniority to both Pettit and Oxinden. The grounds of the claim were, that though Pettit's appointment dated from 1661, and his own only from 1667, yet he had been employed by Sir George Oxinden for some years before that date, and had in fact been made a factor before either Pettit or Henry Oxinden, who were both appointed in the rank of writer.[3]

The Court rejected the petition, and fixed the seniority of Pettit, Oxinden, and Child in the order thus given. Child was doubtless disappointed; but in any case neither he nor Pettit could expect to succeed Aungier, for Thomas Rolt, Agent in Persia, was clearly certain to do so. And before Rolt's departure much might happen.

John Pettit's rule in Bombay lasted for little more than a year, for Aungier died 30th June 1677; and on Rolt's

[1] Matthew Gray, Charles James, and Caesar Chambrelan.
[2] O.C. 4264, January, 1676/7.
[3] Or its equivalent; for this title was not officially used at the time of Pettit's appointment.

succession to the Presidency, Pettit left Bombay in December, to take charge of Persia in the usual course. The records of his term as Deputy Governor are enough to give us an idea of his capacities, and in their light he stands out as a head and shoulders above any of his contemporaries, and as the only man then in the service worthy to sit in Gerald Aungier's chair.

One of his first measures, the result of the recent incident with the Portuguese, was the raising of a troop of forty horse, an establishment that was to be of great assistance in the troubles to follow. The command of this squadron was given, on Pettit's advice, to Captain Richard Keigwin, a recent arrival on Bombay.

Keigwin's life had already had its share of adventure;[1] the third son of Richard Keigwin of Penzance, he was appointed a lieutenant on the *Santa Maria* in 1665, and took part in the four days' fight, 1st to 4th June, 1666. In 1672 Prince Rupert gave him the command of the *Eagle*, whence he was transferred to the *Assistance*, under Commodore Munden. In May 1673, when Munden recaptured St. Helena from the Dutch, Keigwin was in command of the landing party; and the cliff which he scaled is still known as 'Keigwin's Rock'.

When Munden went home, he left Keigwin in charge as Governor. St. Helena was at once made over by the King to the East India Company, who had held it before its capture by the Dutch, and they sent out a new Governor in December; but before his arrival Keigwin had fallen victim to a mutiny[2] on the island, in which he was not only deposed but imprisoned. It is amusing to find that Keigwin and Child qualified for their future relationship, the former as a deposed Governor, the latter as an unsuccessful mutineer. On his return to England, Keigwin apparently left the King's service, and, by the favour of the East India Company, went out to settle on Bombay as a 'free planter', where we hear of his arrival at the end of 1676.[3] He must have found there was very little to

[1] For the following particulars see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] Of this mutiny we have been unable to find any records, beyond the fact that it occurred. Letter Book 7, f. 341 c. Report to Charles II of Secret Committee on Keigwin's Rebellion. August 15, 1684.

[3] O.C. 4259.

plant, and have welcomed the opportunity soon offered him by the Deputy Governor of employment more suitable to his character.

He was soon to show his mettle.

During 1677[1] the usual troubles with the Siddee were aggravated by the appearance of two of these unwelcome guests in Bombay; one of them, Siddee Sambole, had been superseded in his command by his kinsman Siddee Cossim, but made difficulties about giving up his fleet, with the result that Pettit had to deal with the two of them, for both took up their quarters on Bombay. Their behaviour gave him an opportunity of displaying both firmness and tact, and gave Keigwin and his troop of horse their first chance of distinguishing themselves.

Hearing that some of Sivaji's trusted adherents were staying on the mainland, Siddee Sambole hired a party of the Company's slaves to steal across to the Corlahs and secretly seize them, a project which was successfully accomplished, and Pettit's first news of the outrage was a letter from Sivaji's Governor, threatening a stoppage of provisions unless his servants were restored. The Deputy Governor at once sent word to Siddee Sambole, and with some difficulty induced him to deliver up his prisoners; of the slaves who actually made the capture he executed three, and sent the remainder to St. Helena.

Shortly afterwards a serious fracas occurred between the two Siddees; Cossim marched with three hundred men from his quarters near the fort, and attacked Sambole's detachment which was in Mazagon. On hearing the news, Pettit dispatched Keigwin with his troop of horse, who fell indiscriminately on both parties; so small a detachment had great difficulty in separating the combatants, and that they succeeded in doing so with the loss of only four of their horses reflects great credit on their leadership; many fell in the ranks of the two admirals, and Siddee Sambole had his horse shot under him. No less creditable were Pettit's boldness and prudence after

[1] For the following events at Bombay our authority is Orme's *Fragments*.

peace had been restored; after first establishing his authority by disarming the followers of both Siddees, he brought them together, and, acting as mediator, succeeded in effecting an agreement, and in persuading Siddee Sambole to make over his fleet to Cossim and leave Bombay.

Such was Pettit's foreign policy, and no less striking was his success in the domestic affairs of his term of office, to some of which we must now briefly refer.[1]

Pettit early had trouble with Judge Niccolls; this worthy had recently married 'Mr. Ball's widdow', and became involved with her late husband's executors. He declined to pay the claim made upon him, and, relying on his 'gowne', denied the authority of the Deputy Governor to deal with his case; a defiance that led to his retiring once more into the ranks of freemen, while Captain Gary was appointed in his place, this time with the more imposing title of Chief Justice.[2]

Niccolls, after a brief interval, blossomed out into Captain Lieutenant of the Eldest Company of the garrison. But he was not of those who can hold any appointment for long, and two years later he was again in trouble for a misdemeanour which 'wee knowe not well how to put into such decent tearmes as may fittly become us to your Honours'.[3] For the time he escaped with temporary suspension and a fine of 400 Xr.,[4] but he remained apparently in bad odour.

Whether old Gary's decidedly mercurial administration of the law was an improvement on that of his predecessor we may doubt; for we hear that this strange figure 'condemned a Man to be hanged on a Tuesday, and the Man suffered according to Sentence; but on Friday after, the poor dead Fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the Orders.'[5]

The unfinished bastion, without which the Fort was not considered secure, was pushed on by Pettit; and to him also was due the origin of what was later the fort at Mahim, where

[1] See also Appendix E for an account of Bombay under Pettit.
[2] O.C. 4327. January, 1678.
[3] O.C. 4716. Surat to the Court, January 24, 1680/1.
[4] Zerapheens or xerapheens. [5] Hamilton, i. 192.

he threw up a breastwork 'of toddy trees and durt' as a protection against the Portuguese.[1] As we see by his letters, the question of provisions was continually in his mind, and the scarcity, which later caused such complaints from the soldiers, was not in his time existent. But the injustice of the exchange was always with them, and Pettit's endeavours to have it remedied speak highly for his intelligence. He seems, indeed, to have been the only man, among the Company's civilian servants, who saw either the injustice or the folly of thus defrauding the soldiers.

It would appear that the value in terms of xeraphines, as fixed by the Company, for the coins in which the troops were actually paid, was as below:

380 budgerooks = 1 xeraphine
38 dugonys = 1 xeraphine;

but that according to the existing exchange:

580 budgerooks = 1 xeraphine
46 dugonys = 1 xeraphine.

So that on every xeraphine the troops lost some 17 per cent. if paid in dugonys, and over 30 per cent. if in budgerooks.

Pettit brought up the subject very early in his term of office, but Aungier as usual would not hear a word about it.

'Wee are not well pleased', writes the President,[2] 'with the Souldiers' request you present to us, to consider of the great loss they receive by having their wages paid them in Bujerooks and Dugonys, for wee have given noe orders for altering the valew of said species, and presume you have not raised them but that they pass still current for what they did upon the Island; and as to their passing abroad wee are not to concerne ourselves, and if there be any abuse in the shroffs[3] by their raising the Vatao[4], you must punish them. . . . If provisions are deare, you must use all just meanes to procure them plenty and cheape as you can; but . . . to alter the settled pay of the souldiers . . . who are a gaurrilous and ungrateful people and never satisfied . . . wee do not approve it.'

[1] Forrest, p. 94. Surat to Bombay, April 7, 1676.
[2] April 26, 1667. Forrest, p. 113. [3] Native money changers.
[4] Discount in exchange; a word taken from the Portuguese.

Pettit's respect for Aungier kept him silent; but on the arrival of Rolt at Surat he returned to the charge, and hardly pretended to veil his contempt for the extraordinary financial ideas set out by the late President, and now supported by his successor. In December, 1677, he writes:[1]

'The Clause of the President's Letter of the 26th Aprill concerning the Souldiers pay wee did then throughly peruse, but it being an absolute order to us wee would not presume farther to discuss upon it. Our opinions have been often plainly declared that the Souldiers are cut out of their pay a considerable matter. It was ordered by the President when here that 19 Phedeas should pass for a Zerapheen.[2] Wee can indeed order a penny shall passe for two pence, but it is not all the proclamations and commands wee can issue out, shall be of force to effect it. It is certaine the Kings and Potentates of Europe doe put what vallue they please on their coines which passe currant in their own Territories, but while Bombay is but 8 mile long wee doe not see any possibillity of ffollowing their rules. Here is nothing growing on the Island but Coconutts, and all things wee want from abroad, and though the President is pleased to say that we ought not to be concerned how our mony passes abroad, yet how shall wee gett provisions and goods on the Island without our mony goes of to fetch them? and what is intended by that Clause that wee should use all just means to procure them plenty and cheape, when the very ffountaine head is stopped, that is mony prohibited to be carried off? The Sheroffs are markd out as the cause of this distemper, but wee doe not see on what ground, for they doe not raise the vattaw as is objected, but rather Lower it, for the Zerapheen instead of 19 phedeas is worth 29. Supose the King of England should issue out a proclamation that 4 farthings should goe for a penny; if any person should give another 8 farthings for his penny wee cannot Imagine this is punishable; and this is just our case; and to order the Sheroff to give people silver for bujerooks, is a disowning our own coine; for if they are currant, what occasion is there for Sheroffs to exchange them into silver? and if they are not currant there is reason of a complaint, people receiving but 19 Phadeas instead of 29. Our Dugonys indeed goe currant off the Island that is at 23 Phadeas per X[3]

[1] Bombay Factory Records 8. Bombay to Surat, December 12, 1677.
[2] A 'Phedea' was supposed to be twenty budgerooks or about two dugonys.
[3] X = xeraphine or zeraphine. It would seem from this that

or thereabouts, and not at 19 as wee pay them out, which is 20 per Cent. Losse; neither doe wee argue the necessity of allowing the Souldiers the utmost value of the Bazar, which rises and ffalls every day. Wee beleive two Phedeas in a Zerapheen advance would highly content them, and so low [as] that it never ffalls. This is only our oppinion with a submission to your Worship's letter.'

Nothing could be more convincing, and it is a pleasure to find such a clear grasp of a subject that in those days was a bog in which the best would flounder. The same month, December 1677, while Pettit was in Surat on his way to his new charge in Persia, his first care on joining the Grand Council was to push home his argument; for early the next year we find in a letter from the President to Bombay,[1] to which John Pettit's name is appended as one of the Council, 'Wee have been minded of the buisnesse of the Phadeas which hath soe long dissatisfied the Garrison, and have concluded that whereas the Zerapheen passed before but at 19, it shall now goe at 21, which wee hope will have a Just Influence.'

Of this precise form of the exchange trouble we hear no more, though the question of the exchange from shillings to Zerapheens remained untouched.

The Deputy Governor had had an anxious year, and he had been suffering from ill health since Gyffard's departure. 'Mr John Pettit', wrote Aungier in January 1677, 'now manageth the office of your Dy Govr of Bombay, much to our Content; on which score wee shall not remove him thence, except necessity as to health or your order require it. He is somewhat sickly, but being very temperate wee have great hopes he will recover his strength.'[2]

But Bombay was no sanatorium, and he grew steadily worse, until in December he was glad to make over charge to

there must have been two coins called Phadea, one worth twenty budgerooks and the other about two dugonys, and that the Company intended them to be of equal value, nineteen to the xeraphine; but that in reality twenty-nine of the one sort went to a xeraphine, and twenty-three of the other.

[1] O. C. 4340. [2] O. C. 4258.

Henry Oxinden, and retire to Surat for a short rest before going on to Persia to take up his duties as Agent.

There we catch a glimpse of him travelling up to 'Spahaun'[1] with his two great buck-hounds, in company with Dr. Fryer; still very sick, poor man, and already in the clutches of the misfortunes which were destined to dog him to his tragic end.

[1] Ispahan.

CHAPTER III

BOMBAY UNDER HENRY OXINDEN AND JOHN CHILD, 1678–81.

THE history of Bombay became in the next few years involved, and at times almost submerged, in a backwater of the great contest raging between Aurungzebe and the rebellious Sivaji; for though the events we have to record loomed so large to the English, threatening their very existence in India, they formed so insignificant a part of the great struggle then in action, that they are barely referred to by the historian of the Mahrattas.[1]

Henry Oxinden became Deputy Governor in December 1677, and in April of the next year Siddee Cossim arrived as usual in the harbour, hauled up his smaller boats at Mazagon, and moored the larger as close in shore as they could lie. Sivaji, determined to avenge the frequent insults he had experienced from the Siddees, detailed two of his officers to attempt the destruction of Cossim's fleet as it lay thus exposed; but failing to secure boats wherewith to attack them from the eastern shore of the harbour, these commanders advanced in July with 4,000 men to Kalyan, whence they requested leave of the Portuguese to pass through Salsette, intending to cross over on to Bombay Island and make an attempt on the fleet by land at Mazagon. The alarm in Bombay was great, and Oxinden dispatched as strong a force as he could muster to oppose their landing at Mahim, while he stationed one of his frigates in the channel to assist in disputing the passage. Fortunately, the Portuguese were no less alarmed for the safety of their own island, and made such a stout show of force at Tannah that the Mahrattas for the moment abandoned their intentions. Shortly afterwards Sivaji's Governor on the mainland, partly in retaliation for the hostile attitude taken up by the English, and partly, it is said, influenced by a dis-

[1] Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas.*

pute he had had with Pettit on some matter of trade, seized all the boats belonging to Bombay on which he could lay his hands, of which there were some thirty at the time trading in the rivers or ports in his jurisdiction. Oxinden sent out four armed boats manned with sixty Europeans, who beat off the Governor's guards and brought back most of the captured boats; on which that officer complained to Sivaji of the insult done to his territory.

Sivaji, however, who was not prepared to break with the English while they held Bombay, and were besides such good customers, administered a rebuke to the angry Governor, and the English, on the departure of Siddee Cossim at the end of the rains, were left in peace till the next monsoon.

In 1679 affairs grew still more menacing. Sivaji had for some seasons been making great efforts to collect a fleet strong enough to deal with the Siddee, and by now had got together a respectable force of twenty two-masted grabs, and forty gallivats. On the high seas these vessels were too small to cope with the great ships of Cossim's fleet; but the Siddee was more vulnerable in Bombay harbour, where he was obliged to spend the rainy season every year. Here, then, Sivaji decided to strike at him, and with that object cast his eyes on Hendry and Kendry. These were two small islands lying to the south of Bombay at the mouth of the harbour, of which Hendry, the nearest to the shore, was only some twelve hundred yards from the mainland, while Kendry, the larger of the two, lay about two miles further out.

Both islands were claimed by the English, but had hitherto not been considered of sufficient importance to demand a guard-house or any other attention, so that when Sivaji's troops slipped across from the mainland and took possession of Kendry they encountered no opposition, and were able to throw up breastworks at the landing-places before their advent was observed. Bombay now took alarm, and the *Revenge* frigate, with some shibars[1] manned by a part of the garrison, was sent to prevent the landing of any more Mahrattas on Kendry, and to summon the officer in charge of those already there to retire.

[1] Country trading-vessels.

Unfortunately, a reckless[1] lieutenant, by name Thorpe, landed his men on the island, and coming to blows with the occupants, his whole party was killed and his shibar captured; an event which prevented all chance of a peaceful solution to the dispute.

Sivaji's fleet was collected at Chaul, a little to the south of Hendry, and began to assume a threatening attitude; whereupon the *Revenge* was reinforced by two grabs of two masts, two munchuas[2], and three shibars, while the crews were strengthened by 200 European soldiers, or nearly all the garrison; Captain Keigwin going on board the *Revenge* as commander of the whole force.[3]

At daybreak on the 18th October, 'Sevajee's Armada' bore down on the small English squadron with sails and oars, firing as they came. A grab in charge of a Mr. Gape[4] was the nearest to the enemy, next to whom were Keigwin and Minchin, in the *Revenge*, with the rest of the English vessels beyond. 'What accident befell him' (Mr. Gape) 'I know not,' says Keigwin,[5] 'but half a mile before the Enemy was up with him, his Ensigne and Topsaile was struck'; on seeing which piece of cowardice, the rest of the English squadron was seized with panic and fled, leaving the *Revenge* alone. But both Keigwin and Minchin were made of different stuff, and odds of more than forty to one had before then been defied by a *Revenge*, and against a more redoubtable foe. What followed we will give in the terms of Keigwin's manly report, written the same evening, after the fight.

'Seeing ourselves alone, Captain Minchin and my selfe encouraged our Souldiers and Seamen admonishing them what disgrace it would be to Christians to be Prisoners to heathens, but courageously to defend, and fight the enemy bravely they unanimously said they would live and dye with us, wee promised to show ourselves forward for their example, we hal'd up our sailes the Enemy thinking we were as easily swallow'd as the other, came up our sterne, with 24 Grobs I know not how many Galwets, I order'd our men not to fire

1 'In a fit of drunkenness,' says Orme.
2 'A stronger kind of trading vessel.'—Orme.
3 The *Hunter* frigate was unfortunately not in the harbour at this crisis.
4 A factor, afterwards on the Bombay Council.
5 O. C. 4665.

untill the word of Comand, Soe when they came within Pistoll Shot, and they finding us mute, thrust themselves forward in their boates to enter, but wee discharged our Sterne Chase with Round Shot and Patridge, and presently our blunderbuses and small shot so smartly ply'd, that checkt their drums and Pipes, and in halfe an hour, wee beat them from their Guns and Musquets and brought them by the Lee, some was seen to goe downe to the bottom, they were a greate while before they could goe about had our Shibbars Manchuas and Grob stood by me, wee had secur'd the one halfe of them, but God have given us the victory, that with this small vessell wee should defeat 40 saile, wee presently tackt upon them and chased them into Shallow water, and they are holed againe in Nagaun, I sent for those officers on and declared them Cowards nor can they make any defence for themselves.'

The quotation is exact, except for the final full stop which we have interpolated, there being indeed no such thing within 'pistoll shot' either of the beginning or end of our extract. But we may well excuse a somewhat breathless dispatch after such a fine piece of work; for Keigwin and Minchin had covered themselves with glory, though the defection of their comrades prevented their reaping the fruits of victory. Instead of securing half the enemy, no fewer than five of the English vessels ran ashore in their blind flight and were captured by the Mahrattas; so that although the *Hunter* soon after joined Keigwin, he was unable to prevent ammunition and stores passing to Kendry from the mainland.

But it was not only the English that were alarmed at this new development of Sivaji's ambition, and the Siddee hastened to the spot with as strong a squadron as he could get together. Sivaji's fleet of shallow-draught vessels was no match for these new opponents, and soon sailed off, leaving the Siddee and Keigwin in possession; but not before guns had been mounted on Kendry and the island put into a good state of defence.

Siddee Cossim now proposed to Keigwin a combined assault on it; but on its appearing that the Siddee's intention was to keep the island for himself when taken, a change that would have left matters still worse for the English, Keigwin made an excuse and avoided giving any assistance in the attempt. With only his own resources, the Siddy was unable

to effect anything against Kendry, and after some futile efforts, in the beginning of January 1680, without consulting the English, he suddenly landed a force on the neighbouring island of Hendry, which he proceeded to fortify.[1]

Matters were now looking very serious for the English, more especially as a force of 5,000 Mahrattas was once again knocking at the doors of the Portuguese, demanding a passage over Salsette on to Bombay. A position of neutrality was growing more and more difficult to maintain, yet without Sivaji's goodwill the situation in Bombay would quickly become intolerable, while the factory at Surat would as inevitably perish at the first breach with the Mogul. In this dilemma, negotiations were entered into with Sivaji, to meet the immediate need, and a treaty concluded with him in March by which Kendry was to remain in the possesion of the Mahrattas, who in return were to leave Bombay unmolested, on the strict understanding that the English were not to permit the Siddee to ravage Sivaji's Corlahs, as his lands on the opposite shore were called. To follow Sivaji's apparent mildness in thus coming to terms with a fort of whose store-cupboard he kept the key, we must realize the strength as well as the weakness of the English position; for the neutrality of Bombay was as important to both Siddee and Mahratta as to the Company. To throw the English into the arms of the Siddee could profit Sivaji very little, while removing the one check on the periodic raids into his Corlahs; on the other hand, to Cossim it was clear that though as matters stood the English were inconsiderable, yet if once they joined forces with Sivaji, Bombay harbour would be closed to him.

To reap the advantages of this balance, it was of vital importance to the English that they should be able to inspire respect in both parties; and now that both of them had obtained a footing in the very mouth of Bombay harbour, it was more than ever essential to the Company to strengthen

[1] There has been a good deal of confusion about these two islands, chiefly because they are indiscrimately referred to as 'Hendry-Kendry' in the records of the period. Grant Duff wrongly states that Sivagee occupied Hendry, and the Sidee Kendry; Orme, who puts it right in one place, inverts it in another.

their position on Bombay, and to make the Fort at any rate as impregnable as their means would allow. Yet it was this very moment that the Court chose to embark on a new and short-sighted policy of retrenchment.[1]

John Child was Deputy Governor of Bombay when the orders arrived; he had taken over charge from Henry Oxinden, who was retiring to England, in September of 1679, just before Keigwin's sea-fight.

It was no doubt a misfortune for his chances of popularity; for the new policy was received in Bombay with universal feelings of disappointment and alarm, and could hardly fail to be attributed, however unfairly, to the new Deputy Governor. In this hour of trouble, with Sivaji at the gates (for peace with him had not yet been concluded), and the Siddee flouting the Company's authority and seizing their territory, the wretched inhabitants of Bombay saw their Deputy Governor enter on a course that seemed either madness or treachery.

All work on the unfinished bastion was summarily stopped, and even necessary repairs to existing fortifications were cut down. The powder supply was reduced by half, and sentries kept their watch with empty flasks and useless muskets; the troop of horse was disbanded, and what was still worse, Keigwin, the only man who had shown himself capable of meeting an emergency with credit, was discharged the service. The Court actually went so far as to order that the whole militia should be also disbanded; but even John Child, whose unquestioning obedience to all instructions from home was a virtue that his worst enemies never denied him, could not face the risk; and this part of the reduction was not carried out, the orders being rescinded in the following year. On their factors' private interests the Court's orders fell with a like severity, salaries being reduced all round; the President's position and pay were to be left untouched during the office of Rolt, the present incumbent; but it was decided that on his departure or death his successor should be designated only as Agent, with a salary correspondingly reduced; while John Child himself

[1] Letter Book 6, February 28, 1678/9. To Surat.

was one of the greatest sufferers, the pay of the Deputy Governor being cut down to £120 per annum.

Certainly, John Child was not responsible; yet we may date from now the rising wave of feeling against him, which made his subsequent administration perhaps more unpopular than that of any other Englishman who has ever held the supreme control in India. His close connexion with Josia, whose predominant position in the Court was well known, no less than his unhesitating acceptance of every change in that autocrat's policy, led to his name being associated with each stage of the growing monument of tyranny and folly which the Company now proceeded to pile up; a structure whose increasing top-heaviness it is our task to follow, up to the inevitable collapse of Keigwin's rebellion.

The cause of this inopportune retrenchment was to be found, as Bruce observes, in a general revision, undertaken about this time by the Court, of their whole policy for the last fifteen years. Looking round for an explanation of a decrease in their profits, they awoke with disgust to the fact that, ever since the rule of Aungier, their Island of Bombay had been costing them a considerable sum, and bringing them in very little. Every year a good part of the money that was sent out to India, and that should have gone to their investment in pepper and silks, was spent on the fortifications and upkeep of a place 'that produces no comodity of profit for Europe, and is of little accommodation to us either in Peace or Warr'.[1]

The obvious course seemed to be to abolish this unprofitable expense, and the Court plunged into it with enthusiasm; not seeing that they were in the position of a man who should seek to prop up a failing business by cutting off the payment of Insurance premiums.

Unavailing were the faint protests of President Rolt, an estimable if somewhat dim figure; they were brushed aside, and the orders repeated. Vain, too, was the somewhat stronger remonstrance that the Madras Council ventured on. Rashly enough, they quoted the practice of the Court's *bête noire*, Gerald Aungier, in support of some garrison charge that Josia

[1] Letter Book 6, February 28, 1678/9. To Surat.

had forbidden; which called forth the following characteristic example of that great man's passionate and picturesque style:[1]

'Your instancing the President of Bombay is as little prevalent as the practice of the Dutch, the latter hath been in a great measure distructive of their Affaires, as the profuseness and mistake of Mr. Aungier deceased was of ours in that place, neither can you imitate a more disadvantagious and looseing methode or forme of proceedings that ever was in India then was that of Mr. Aungier at Bombay. Wee have since reduced above half the charge of that Island, and altered that vaine pompous insignificant course that was established there; and 'twas high time to doe it, unlesse wee should have sacrificed the benefit of all the trade of the North of India for a feather etc. to be gaized at by the Poor Indians, and Portugueez.'

It is interesting to compare this passage, which bears the strongest evidences of Josia Child's dictation, with his later letters, written after his conversion to the opposite view; in which with equal force he advocates Aungier's policy of a fortified base, though without acknowledgements to its originator, and continually cites the practice of the Dutch as an example to be followed.

In Bombay the unpopular retrenchments went energetically along, and Richard Keigwin found himself once more a free planter. This phrase is the equivalent of 'freeman', and means merely a colonist, with no real reference to 'planting'; it is certain that nothing would grow on the Island except coco-nut palms, though the enterprising Pettit had experimented, while Deputy Governor, with sugar-cane.[2] Keigwin at any rate found himself without employment, and decided to go home and lay his case before the Court, sailing home at the beginning of 1680. On his arrival he was called before the Commitees,[3] and eventually reappointed[4] as captain in command of the whole garrison and militia of Bombay, and sent out again in the spring of 1681.

[1] Letter Book 6, December 3, 1679. To Fort St. George.

[2] Ibid., March 19, 1679/80. To Surat. The Court write, 'Wee understand on each side of the Companie's Garden is a considerable quantity of Ground, which Mr Petit whilst Dep^y Govr converted into Sugar Cane Fields (and are still called his gardens)', and order that this land should be 'disposed for the benefit of the Company'.

[3] Court Minutes, September 10, 1680. [4] Ibid., February 2, 1680/1.

Meanwhile, John Child spent the remainder of his term as Deputy Governor in the vain endeavour to reduce the expenses of his charge within the utterly inadequate limits imposed by the Court. That he should have failed was inevitable, and we have no doubt that his efforts deserved the praise showered on him by his honourable masters.

Among other measures, we must notice one which caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the officers of the garrison, and was afterwards specifically mentioned by the mutineers as one of their grievances. It had been always the custom for commissioned officers to draw pay for their servants, and they claimed this indulgence as universally sanctioned in the king's service; the servants they actually employed were, of course, natives of India, but for each servant allowed by the custom the officers drew the full pay of an English 'sentinell', dummy names being entered on the musters to clear the accounts. On these 'dead musters', as the soldiers called them, or 'false musters' in the phrase of the Court, Child now determined to make a raid, but, not caring to invade such a privilege on his own authority, he sent home a report on the matter. The Court, in high indignation at this 'very ill practice' sent out orders[1] not only that it was to cease, but that all such money paid out in the past must be repaid by those who had drawn it. How far the latter part of the instructions was carried out we cannot say, but an accumulation of such small economies (for only eight officers were concerned) caused more irritation than the saving can have been worth.

The loss of this and similar privileges was set aside for a future day of reckoning; but one of the institutions of Bombay could not be attacked without immediate remonstrance. In commenting on Captain Gary's elevation to the Bench, the Court remarked that they were informed he was a Papist, 'although he sometimes goes to Church', and that he was in consequence to be dismissed.[2] Bombay rose as one man, and a certificate with thirty-three signatures, headed by the names of the Deputy Governor and all his Council, and

[1] Letter Book 6, March 15, 1681. To Surat.
[2] Ibid., March 19, 1679/80.

including those of three chaplains, remains on record to this day in the India Office, to prove that the Judge was 'a Good Protestant according to the Church of England, haveing given such signall Testimonies thereof, Pr. his often Expressing his abhorrency to, and detestation of the abominable Superstition and Idolatry of the Church of Rome; . . . and Especially Pr. his communicating with most of us the Holy Eucharist.'[1]

In the course of 1680 two events of historical importance took place, of which the first was the death of the Mahratta chieftain Sivaji, which occurred in April. His son Sombaji, who succeeded him, pursued the same policy as his father, so that the change made little difference to the affairs of the English.

Not so the other, which was the imposition of the well-known poll-tax of Aurungzebe on all unbelievers; the measure, which was due to a combination of fanaticism with a depleted treasury, occasioned serious outbreaks among his Hindu subjects. As for the three European Companies, they flatly refused to pay it, on which Aurungzebe, while exempting them from the impost, obtained its equivalent by raising the duties on Europe goods to 3½ per cent. instead of the 2 per cent. which had hitherto been allowed them by special charter.

These events, with the increasing impotence of Bombay, encouraged the Siddee's Mussulman followers to redouble their insolence. They took almost open possession of Mazagon, executing their own justice on the wretched inhabitants, and made frequent raids on Sombaji's Corlahs. On one occasion, in August 1680, having successfully repulsed a Mahratta attack on Hendry, they brought eighty of their enemies' heads in baskets to Mazagon and were for setting them up on poles along the shore there. This insult John Child did manage to prevent; but matters went from bad to worse, until an affray between the custom-house guards and the Siddee's sailors in Mazagon, followed by an insult from Cossim himself, who sailed in and anchored off the fort without the usual compliment of dipping his flag, exhausted the Deputy Governor's patience, and he opened fire with his guns.

[1] O.C. 4713, dated January 1, 1680/1.

As usual, the Siddee drew back before a display of firmness, and for the rest of that season there was more quiet; but in 1681 the same old story began again. We hear of fresh outrages on the Corlahs and in Mazagon; of insolent captures under the walls of the Fort; of the burning of one of Sombaji's towns; and of the stoppage of Bombay vessels.

The English, unable to keep the peace in their own harbour, applied in despair to the Governor of Surat. He, however, could see in the business only an excellent opportunity of looting the English, so trumping up some ridiculous countercharge, he seized all the Company's goods in the Surat customhouse, beat and misused their servants in the streets, and finally beset the factory; the unhappy President Rolt took the only course open to him, and by an enormous present,[1] which if spent on the strengthening of Bombay would have gone far towards putting the English in a position to defy such a bully, induced the Governor to receive the Company once more into his favour, and send orders to the Siddee to behave himself properly; while he also agreed to the reduction of the customs to their old rate of 2 per cent. It does not appear, says Bruce, that this last part of the bargain was carried out; and as to the Siddee, he went on exactly as he had before.

All this not unnaturally enraged Sombaji, whose troops now began to pour into the country round Bombay; the English had not kept their share of the treaty, in stopping the Siddee's depredations, and the Mahratta openly threatened to attack the Company's island.

It was in these troubled circumstances that John Child's Deputy Governorship was passed.[2] In December 1681 he was called away to Surat, preparatory to entering on the still more stormy period of his rule as President; and we must return to follow the misfortunes of John Pettit.

[1] 30,000 rupees. But apparently the French and Dutch contributed, to have their customs duties restored to 2 per cent (Bruce, ii. 456).

[2] For the dealings between the English, the Mahrattas and the Siddee, Orme's *Fragments* is again the principal authority. His MSS., on which the *Fragments* are founded, are preserved at the India Office, and have been consulted with advantage.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN CHILD AND JOHN PETTIT IN SURAT 1681–3.

JOHN PETTIT'S appointment as Deputy Governor of Bombay, and Child's unsuccessful appeal, established the position of the former, as we have seen, as Rolt's successor to the Presidency in the ordinary course of events; and it is from this time that we begin to see the toils closing round him. Henry Oxinden's decision to retire had left Pettit the only obstacle between John Child and his goal, and it was perhaps natural that the chief gainer by his ruin should be suspected of having a hand in bringing it about; the sympathies of his fellows in India were clearly with Pettit, and Child's unpopularity and known disposition to intrigue must have aided the suspicion. Yet it is but fair to say that there is no evidence of John Child being any more than a pleased spectator of his rival's downfall; on the other hand, it must be remembered that his elevation was a great point in his namesake's scheme of aggrandisement, and that Josia was not the man to need any tutoring as to the means of removing anybody that stood in his path. That Pettit's fall was actually preordained by the Court, the nature of the final proceedings against him leaves us, we fear, little room to doubt.

The first assault was a weak one; in December 1676, he was accused of a shortage of pepper in one of the Company's vessels in 1672, when he had been chief of the factory at Calicut. Pettit found no difficulty in disposing of this; to begin with, after the lapse of so long a time it was unreasonable to make a complaint; at that distance it was impossible to fix the responsibility, and 'it cannot be supposed that I, who had been the Charge in chiefe of 2 factories, and soe many ships to lade yearely, . . . could have Leizure to attend the

Scale, though I was often there to overlooke it'.[1] Finally, if the Company were dissatisfied, he offered to make good the shortage from his own pocket. Clearly this would not serve Josia's turn, except perhaps for cumulative effect, and the matter was dropped.

The next affair was more serious; the accounts of Mansell Smith, Pettit's successor at Calicut, were found in confusion, and, in his defence, some of the errors and outstandings were referred to the period of Pettit's charge there. Rolt, when called upon by the Court to clear up the tangle, professed himself unable to do so; and after bringing Pettit and Mansell Smith together could only report that the question was 'soe intricate and confused that we must ingeniously confess it exceeds our Judgments';[2] a confession of failure that leaves our own opinions, in the absence of the evidence before Rolt, without any standing ground; though we must observe that this charge too was dropped and not pressed further against Pettit.

The Court had failed to find sufficient grounds for the removal of John Child's rival, but time was now passing by and President Rolt was talking of retiring; and in January 1680 he wrote officially, asking for permission to return to England.

Josia had now decided on more energetic measures, and in March 1680 the Court sent out a long list of charges against John Pettit for malversations committed while Deputy Governor of Bombay, compiled by the Company's auditors from the Bombay books sent home. Pettit they ordered to be at once suspended; if after inquiry he was found innocent, he was to be restored to his former position; if guilty, he was to be sent home.[3] This was followed up, in their letter granting Rolt permission to retire, by instructions that, as John Pettit was under suspension on so serious a charge, John Child was to succeed Rolt as Agent,[4] to which title the dignity of President had been reduced by a previous order.[5]

[1] O.C. 4245. December 26, 1676. [2] O.C. 4691. January 20, 1679/80.
[3] Letter Book 6, March 19, 1679/80. [4] Ibid., March 15, 1680/1.
[5] Vide p. 41, ante.

The blow was decisive, and the very delay in its fall made Pettit's case hopeless; for timed as it was, whether he were acquitted or condemned, his rival would still succeed to the chief command.

Summoned from Persia to stand his trial, the wretched Pettit sailed for Surat in one of his own ships, the *George*, where he arrived in April 1681; and the rest of the year was spent in a lengthy inquiry into all the numerous details of the Court's charges against him.

Into these details it would be unnecessary for us to enter even if we were able to do so; suffice it to say that a great number of witnesses were heard both at Surat and Bombay, where some of the evidence was taken on commission before Child, and the final conclusion was arrived at by the end of 1681, just before Rolt's departure.

On 3rd January, 1682, the Grand Council recorded their finding.[1]

'The President and Councell mett now to peruse the whole proceedings over again, and after a serious re-examination of the generall articles of said Charge, it appeared to us to consist partly of Errors and partly of misinformations, which Mr. Petit's answere to the papers relating to it wee presume will make clear to the Honble Company's satisfaction; and therefore in pursuance of their orders, thought fitt to readmitt him into Councell in his former station, and then demanded of him whither he had now resolved to returne to his Station in Persia . . . but upon second Consideration, he now desired to continue here as Second, and had his request graunted, taking his place immediately in Councell.'

This Consultation is signed by Rolt, Caesar Chambrelan, John Child, and George Bowcher; and three weeks later[2] Rolt and Chambrelan sailed for England, leaving Child as Agent, with Pettit and Bowcher his second and third in Council.

It must have been evident to Pettit that no remedy was to be hoped for, and indeed his 'petition' to the Court is rather a dignified protest than an appeal for redress.

[1] O. C. 4730. [2] January 23, 1681/2.

'I find', he writes,[1] 'your Honours have appointed Mr. Child absolutely to succeed, without so much as any provision for me; it is not here my intention to think that your Honours should have appointed me to succeed, right or wrong, or that I were worthy of the Place if found guilty; but I had confidence your Honours would not have receeded from the promise of last year, that is, if I clear'd myself I should be restated in my first station, and more I desired not. But certainly my case is deplorable where innocence itself will not clear me, and surely I am not restated if my inferiour be plac'd above me. What shall I say? can your Honours act otherwise then with all justice? No, I will rather think my misfortune has caused some misapprehension of things, beside what I can here see. (A passage crossed out.) I can safely say that my four years sicknes and all my misfortunes put together never went so near me as this, and I must confess I never had so much necessity of the vertue of fortitude as now; but I will not complain, for happy is he that can make a benefit of afflictions.'

Complaints indeed were useless; and it is perhaps no stretch of imagination to see in Pettit's last words a declaration of war.

John Child had now achieved his ambition; but one shudders to think of the life he must have led with his Council, and of the horrors of his Sunday garden-parties.

Pettit, bent on mischief, was by himself quite formidable enough; and his friend George Bowcher from the first took up his cause, and soon showed himself no less dangerous.

The position was intolerable; but Josia Child, who was now Governor of the Company, was not the man to leave things half done, or to allow such a state of affairs as afterwards disgraced the Council of Warren Hastings. No one indeed was better aware of this than Pettit, and he and Bowcher silently made their preparations for what they knew must follow.

At a consultation on August 17th, when the dispatches from home were opened, they were found to contain orders that Pettit and Bowcher were to be dismissed and sent home immediately, 'having wrote for Mr. Petit formerly, as now we shall for Mr. George Bowcher, . . . we having good proof of his

[1] O. C. 4763. October, 1681.

unfaithfulnes to us, and particularly of his sending by Babb, late Purser of the *Lancaster*, 500 Cuttanees in such clandestine manner as might have defrauded us of our stated damages.'[1] The two friends quietly rose and withdrew, leaving the consultation to be concluded by Child and his fourth, Francis Day,[2] the Barwell of this strange Council.

'As soon as the Council broke up,' says Hamilton,[3] 'Mr. Child sent Orders to confine them in their Factory Rooms; but Word being brought that they were not in the Factory, but their Doors were locked, he gave Orders to break them open, and secure all that was found in them for him, especially their Papers and Books; but they found nothing but a Bed furnished and some empty Trunks.' They had, in fact, in anticipation of the blow, bought a house in the town, where they would be out of the Company's jurisdiction, under the protection of the Governor, and quietly removed their belongings to it. 'When Mr. Child understood', continues our authority, 'that their Effects and Papers were removed, he raved like a mad Man, but to no Purpose.' And indeed we can believe it; for in the records of the following months it is in that attitude that the President constantly appears. Like Josia, to be thwarted was what he could not bear.

John Child was indeed a curious mean replica of his namesake. Both were violent, implacable, and utterly unscrupulous; they shared alike a passion for power, and a predilection for intrigue; and each achieved the success he desired, at the cost of the almost universal execration of his contemporaries, and nearly to the ruin of the Company he served. But whereas in John we see never a spark of the divine fire, Josia was instinct with passion and imagination; these two supreme gifts make his letters stand out like beacons in the wilderness of the Court records, and by their magic raise even his knaveries and his follies into the sphere of greatness. When he buys up a whole Court, from the King downwards, we feel ashamed to talk

[1] Letter Book 6, February 10, 1681/2. To Surat.
[2] We have been unable to trace any connexion between this gentleman and his namesake, the founder of Madras.
[3] Hamilton, i. 196.

of bribery; and when he sends out six companies of infantry to conquer the Emperor Aurungzebe, we remember only the magnificence of his intention, to establish 'a large, well grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come'.

Without such a touch of genius, and handicapped, perhaps, by his education in India, the same qualities merely disgust us in John; we see venom instead of passion, bluster and obstinacy instead of force and an indomitable will. Where Josia drives a rival giant not only from the East India House, but across the Channel, with Judge Jeffries at his heels, John vents his spleen on the widow of a miserable Scotch tailor; where Josia throws down his glove to the Mogul empire, John serves a 'Protest' on the captain of a tramp trader.

It is not to be supposed then that Pettit had fallen a victim to a paltry piece of favouritism; Josia Child was in fact in the throes of a desperate struggle for supremacy at the India House, and it was an essential part of his scheme to have a creature of his own in authority in India. This is not the place to tell the epic of his conflict with his rival Papillon, a man of as powerful a will, and of wider views than himself; but it is to our purpose to mention the grounds of contention between them. Papillon was for making the East India trade more accessible to the mercantile public, Child for the strictest monopoly; and although Papillon was for the time beaten from the field, the ideas he stood for continued to gain ground, and one of their results was the reappearance in India of that interesting character, the Interloper.

The Interlopers were Free Traders, who, determined to have a share in the great profits of Eastern commerce, defied the Company's charter and invaded its preserves; for some years after the Restoration we hear nothing of them, the wave of loyalty that then spread over England being strong enough to clothe with majesty even the monopolies granted under the royal seal. But as this feeling wore off, the eternal English craving for the open door broke out again, till in 1679 we read of the Free Traders fitting out ships in Cadiz for the East Indies; and thereafter the Interlopers and their doings are

never absent from the Court's letters or the factors' consultations.

A fine aroma of romance hangs about the names of these old poachers. There was Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of the great Chatham, who brought home the celebrated Pitt diamond; and who later, in the unexpected post of Governor of Madras, proved himself a man of mark;[1] there, too, was Captain Alley, a fine figure as we meet him on his progress up the river Hooghly, 'in his Barge, rowed with English Mariners in Coats with Badges, and four Musicians';[2] or defiantly dining on board one of the Company's ships, 'with great Mirth and Jollity, and salvos of guns all the afternoon'.[3] Even later, when their successors had degenerated into buccaneers, the names of Avery and Captain Kidd stir our blood.

Josia Child was doing wonders for his monopoly at home; but with these gentry abroad in India it was necessary to have a staunch supporter on the spot, to keep them down and see they got no assistance from the Company's servants. His *protégé* John was the very man for the work, and having made his choice and put him in, Josia was determined he should not fail for lack of support.

From Agent he was made President,[4] and from President General, with control over all the Company's affairs in India. Praises and congratulations were showered upon him, and throughout his term of office, the Court Books are full of the records of bonuses, gold chains, and other donations heaped upon him. Josia even bought him a baronetcy; and the Court, in a transport of gratitude, paid all the fees and expenses incidental to the acquisition of their President's new title.[5]

As for the wretched Pettit, Josia felt no touch of compunction; caring nothing for public opinion, and despising the law's delays, he urged the President to follow his example,

[1] Hedges, vol. iii. [2] Ibid., i. 104.
[3] Ibid., i. 137–8, quoted by Hunter, ii. 296.
[4] In the letter ordering Pettit's dismissal.
[5] Court Book 34, September 30, 1685. John Child received his baronetcy in this year.

and 'turn out in a summary way' any one whom he should find 'in his judgment and conscience' unfit for the service; 'without the formality of tedious, impertinent, and chargeable examinations, attestations, certificates, letters, etc., as was used in the case of Mr. Pettit to no purpose.'[1]

The old despot takes high ground as usual, and there is of course much to be said for such decisions on a general view of results, provided that 'the judgment and conscience' are both above suspicion. 'Long experience', he continues, has 'convinced Us of this certain truth, that where Things go generally ill, expenses great, despatches slow, accounts confused, debt standing out, the Instruments are certainly naught, though none better furnished with Volumes of attestations, certificates, etc.'[2]

Nor, we may add, are bonuses and gold chains any more persuasive; for it is impossible to avoid the question of how John Child would fare, if judged from such a standpoint. The sad fact is, that if we survey the whole course of the history of the British in India, we shall not find another administration in which things went so 'generally ill'.

But we must pass a kinder verdict on him than Josia's criterion would allow. The Instrument indeed was naught, but chiefly so in the more modern meaning of the word; and it is his insignificance that saves him from bearing the responsibility for the utter failure of his administration. This conclusion may seem strange, in view of the extremes of praise and blame to which his memory has been subjected; but the praise comes from the Company's annalist, and is but the echo of Josia's loud voice, while the blame rests almost entirely on the stories of that entertaining Interloper, Alexander Hamilton, whose scandalous and delightful libels would hardly deceive a child.

When we come to look for facts on which to base an estimate of John Child as a Governor, we find plenty of proof that he was of a harsh, domineering, and oppressive disposition; but of any kind of a policy of his own we have not been able to discover a trace, on which to form any

[1] Letter Book 7. To Bombay. September 25, 1682. [2] Ibid.

judgement. He was in fact but a mask, unpleasant enough, and violently grimacing, behind which the great Josia's powerful will, and extraordinary ignorance of Indian affairs, drove the unfortunate Company on into the mire.

Pettit and Bowcher proceeded to devote their undoubted talents and all their energy to a systematic course of reprisals against the Company that had treated them so scurvily.

Their first step was to announce to the Mogul Governor, and to their friends in the Dutch and French factories, that the English Company was at its last gasp; and that a new Company was being formed in London, of which they were the agents, and which was to supersede and replace the old one.[1] This story, as tending to discredit the Company in the eyes of the native powers, was viewed with the greatest alarm by John Child, and there was, moreover, enough truth in it to make it extremely awkward. For Papillon and his party, who had recently been thrown out of Leadenhall Street, were indeed already talking of starting a rival Company, a proposal which ultimately took shape as the New or English Company; and we strongly suspect that Pettit and Bowcher were actually connected with Papillon's friends, and that their dismissal was a chapter in the general rout of that party.[2]

However this may be, their action declared them the professed friends of the Interlopers, against whom Josia's word had gone forth, and likely to be of the greatest help to them; for the chief need of the Free Traders was experienced agents, resident in India, with a knowledge of the markets and influence among the native merchants and rulers.

Pettit, indeed, in his correspondence with the President, took the ground that whatever might be surmised as to his intentions, he could not be set down as an Interloper without

[1] O. C. 4905.

[2] Papillon was finally defeated on what we may call a Free Trade motion in November, 1681, and ejected from the Court of Committees at the next election in April, 1682 (Hunter, ii. 285). The letter dismissing Pettit and Bowcher is dated February, 1682. Papillon's chief supporter was Sir Samuel Barnardiston; and, though we have not succeeded in tracing John Pettit's pedigree, there was a family of Pettits connected with the Barnardistons: vide H.F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, p. 743.

some proof of a definite breach of the Company's charter; but in the face of his undisguised hostility we must share Child's view, that this was a mere quibble.

'You stand still on your innocence in this,' he writes,[1] 'but . . . your fig leafe Coate of pretences will not be able to Cover you, I thinck.'

Accordingly, a meeting was convened of all the factors, at which the President proclaimed Pettit and Bowcher Interlopers and outlaws; directing all the Company's servants 'to take all opportunitys to seize and secure whatever effects they can meete with of theirs'.[2] By this means he laid hands on a very considerable amount of his antagonists' property,[3] and made it into a fund for carrying on war against them. His next step was to approach the Governor of Surat, for permission to seize their persons and send them home; but here he found himself anticipated, for the Dutch Directore, Jaquis Du Buequos,[4] exerted his influence in their favour, and the Governor refused to deliver them up. 'For our loveing ffriend Du Buequos,' says Child in reporting the affair, 'him wee shall serve with a Protest.'[5]

This serving of Protests seems to have been the unfailing resource at this period of any one who found himself in a difficulty; originally, we suppose that the object was to supply a *locus standi* for a future law-suit, but by this time it had apparently become a merely formal piece of etiquette, without any ulterior object at all. Like the less genteel volley of oaths, a Protest doubtless relieved the temper while defining the attitude of mind, and in going through the records of this time of strained relations, we have had to pick our way through a regular forest of these curious documents.

The chief storm-centre was George Bowcher's house; 'Madam Bowcher,' as she is called, seems to have started, with the help of her crony Mrs. Minchin, the duellist captain's wife, a sort of anti-Child *salon*; whence would come periodical

[1] Misc. Factory Records 16. December 12, 1682.
[2] Surat Factory Records 4. December 16, 1682.
[3] Child owns to Rs. 40,000, but it was much more according to Pettit.
[4] So called by Child. His real name seems to have been Van der Beek.
[5] O. C. 4895.

whispers of the most audacious and unprincipled conversations. Where the Protests lie thickest around, there we may be pretty certain to find the names of these two militant ladies; and they clearly succeeded in dividing the town, in spite of the President's attempts to defeat them by the exercise of his authority.

There is an amusing letter extant[1] from Bowcher to his friend Michell,[2] then chief at Calicut, from which we may quote:

'Your Brother Child is the maddest President that ever was in Surat; . . . He seizes all Letters and other Concernes of Mr. Petits and mine, uppon noe other account but because Wee will not goe home, . . . he has seized on all my consignments out of England, being to the vallue of at least 30,000 rupees, . . . and more of Mr. Pettit's, has endeavoured by bribes of at least 60,000 rupees to the Governor and other officers to send us home by fforce, but could not effect it . . . the whole towne is concerned at it and in gennerall doe all take our part. . . . I believe the Company had better have given 50,000£ sterling than ever made him President. . . . I shall say noe more but that hee is gott a horseback and is riding to the Devill as fast as he can. . . . S^{r}, mine and wife's service to your Selfe and Lady concludes this from

Your affectionate ffriend and servant
GEORGE BOWCHER.

Surat 9th ffeb. 1683.

'He has seized on my wife's Slaves, and has prohibited all English Banians coming neare us, and forbid all English men and weomen to have any correspondence with us, . . . but some are refractory. Mrs. Minchin for not obeying is threatened to be sent to Bombay, and Mrs. Benbow for continueing with my wife was forbid the ffactory; and I believe if it were possible those that are disobedient to his orders, he would forbid their entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven too—Basta— Idem. G. B.'

Child denies the charge of bribing the Governor; 'wee gave him but two water dogs,' he says,[3] 'and he seeing a pair of

[1] O. C. 4911.
[2] Michell was another brother-in-law of John Child, though evidently in the opposite camp. He had married Miss Dorcas Child.
[3] O. C. 4935. April 23, 1683.

Pistolls of the Presidents, . . . which he seemed to like, . . . the President presented him with them.' It is however certain that the Governor was induced to change his views, and what we know of the native Governors of the period does not help us to believe that such a change could be obtained so cheaply. However, toy spaniells were no doubt highly valued, and it is amusing to find a fashion led by King Charles spreading so far afield as to the court of Aurungzebe. In another letter[1] Child writes home: 'To oblidge the Governor and other publick Ministers wee humbly begg your Honours will please to order us by the ships three or four Little water Spanniells, and as many neate little Doggs, the Lesse the more acceptable.'

By hook or by crook the Governor was gained over by the President, and as the end of the cold weather drew near, when the ships sailed for England, the situation of Pettit and Bowcher became critical, and there was every reason to fear they would be seized and sent home.

In this emergency they resorted to an artifice; several native merchants in Surat were put up to make claims for debts alleged to be due to them by the two Englishmen, and by a law which the Governor dared not disobey, no one indebted to any of the Emperor's subjects might leave the country. The Governor, on this, threw Pettit into prison, allowing Bowcher to remain at large to attend to the affairs of himself and his partner.[2]

This must have been at the end of January 1683, and the unfortunate Pettit seems to have remained a prisoner for some six months.[3] He now resolved to lay his case before a higher authority, and addressed an appeal to the Emperor himself, a copy of which is still among the India Office records.[4]

[1] O.C. 4905. January 26, 1682/3, para. 131.

[2] O.C. 4922. April 4, 1683. These negotiations are described at great length in Misc. Factory Records 16. On one occasion the Governor, summoning Child and Pettit before him, commanded them to embrace one another in his presence; an order they were obliged to comply with on the spot, in open Durbar.

[3] O.C. 5062. Keigwin to Charles II. March 25, 1684.

[4] O.C. 4918 (no date).

He declares that his debts are in the ordinary course of business and amply covered by the contents of his various ships, then on their way to Surat, and asks to be released from prison, where he now lies solely owing to Child's machinations.

Meanwhile, the President hit upon the simple plan of giving the forty thousand rupees, which he had seized from Pettit and Bowcher, to the Governor, to pay their debts and obtain their release; a suggestion that admirably suited that officer, who would doubtless have found some means of gaining by the transaction. But to his disappointment word came in the nick of time from Aurungzebe that no further action was to be taken till he had completed his inquiries; since the Emperor himself was dealing with the case, there was no more to be said, and Child wrote to the Court to express his regret 'that those two Blades goe not towards you on these Shipps'.[1] He was also obliged to go to the expense of paying an agent at the Mogul Court to counteract the schemes of his opponents with Aurungzebe.[2]

The hot weather of 1683 passed away in continuous agitations; with Madam Bowcher presiding at her tea-parties, her husband 'divers times impudently abusing our Brokers in the Custome House',[3] Child seizing the consignments of the partners as they arrived, and Pettit still in prison but contriving to serve Protests on the Captains who delivered them up.[4]

Child's action was indeed utterly illegal, and hard to justify on any grounds whatever, except on the assumption that the Company's interests stood above considerations either of law or morals, a contention that in England at any rate could not be advanced. His letters home betray a certain anxiety on this head, but every move met with Josia's complete approval, and the Court cheerfully paid heavy damages on demand to the merchants in London whose dispatches on commission to Pettit and Bowcher had been seized by the President.

[1] O. C. 4905. January 26, 1682/3. [2] Ibid.
[3] O. C. 4922. April 4, 1683.
[4] O. C. 4928. April 9, 1683. Protest of John Pettitt to Captain Bowers.

Pettit put his case with his usual lucidity to Captain Hilder, the master of the *Prosperous*, one of his own ships that arrived in the river's mouth about this time, whom Child was trying to intimidate into giving up the cargo.

If the President relied on the King's Proclamation against Interlopers, he argued,[1] that proclamation had no concern with the port-to-port trade; moreover, no Interloper had appeared in Surat since he was dismissed, so that there could be no proof, beyond a presumption, that he even intended to help the Free Traders; and even if he were proved an Interloper, only such of his goods and money as were actually employed in interloping could be legally seized. Where, he asks, is Child's authority for all this robbery, and for even issuing orders to prevent 'my owne servants ffrom coming neare mee'? Certainly not in the charter, for a breach of which a man could only be taken before a magistrate; and the Company, except in Bombay, had no 'magistratical' powers.

Much of this is Pettit's 'fig leafe Coate' again, but his main contention cannot be denied; Interloper or no, Child's behaviour was indefensible on grounds either of reason or justice. But neither reason nor justice was now in question. The quarrel had passed beyond such considerations, and each party was by this time intent on the ruin of the other at all costs.

Hitherto the scoring had all been on the side of the President; but he was now to experience a series of reverses. In August, Aurungzebe sent down orders for the release of Pettit; and not only so, but also signified his permission that he and Bowcher should come to his Court to pay their respects in person. The Governor became immediately all smiles; Pettit was released with apologies, and his cargo from the *Prosperous* passed through the customs by a special order. 'On which', reports the discomfitted President,[2] 'the towne was not big enough for them; all us they Looked on as a small morsell, to downe with us; not sufficient, but the

[1] O.C. 4934.
[2] O.C. 5001. November 30, 1683. Child to the Court.

Governour must be swallowed too.' They were for getting a firmaund, or charter, from Aurungzebe for themselves and their Company, that would make the old Company look small; and their preparations for their journey to Court were made in great style. 'All sorts of rich cloaths made, and many of them after the manner of the Moors; two pallankeens fitted up and that very richly; two fflags made, and a Tent bought.'[1] And so, after publicly showing to the Governor their letter from the Emperor, and even submitting a request that John Child himself should be sent with them, they started off, with flags flying, a stately cavalcade of horses, oxen, pallankeens, and camels, and pitched their camp for the first night, just outside the walls of Surat.

Their triumph was premature; for Child's agent had in the nick of time obtained another order from the Emperor, cancelling the invitation; and the next morning their progress was stopped by the Governor of Surat. However, to the President's annoyance, George Bowcher early in September 'privately stole out of the citty' and went to Court, leaving Pettit behind, who 'makes a great stirr', and 'hath sent Brokers all abroade'.[2]

With the beginning of the cold weather the first of the dreaded Interlopers made her appearance; this was the *Society*, Captain Beauchamp, whose purser, Mr. Capell, came in advance overland to make arrangements for her visit to Surat. Capell went direct to Pettit, by whose newly acquired influence with the Governor all difficulties were quickly smoothed over, and the *Society* sailed boldly into the river's mouth, where, as the President bitterly reports,[3] 'she lyes Lording it with her fflag at topmast head; her stock, as wee are informed, is about 1,200£. Petit is very brisk, and as buisy as a henn with One chick; concludes now he hath overcome all, but wee hope to afford him a pull back.' The nature of the intended 'pull back' we hear later.[4]

'The Gentleman at the River's Mouth I have a continuall eye on. . . . I have imployed some Englishmen, that I am

[1] O.C. 5001. November 30, 1683. Child to the Court.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] O.C. 5005. December, 1683.

sure wants not for courage, . . . to make themselves gratious with Petit etc.; and have directed them that if [they] meet with an Opportunity to gitt Petit, the Captain, and Capell together, . . . to secure them on board one of your Shipps. . . . With Capell they have gained some confidence, and he opens his heart. . . . The shipps company is discontented, I have instruments that blowes that Cole.'

We next find orders from Child to Mr. Gladman,[1] who had succeeded to the Council, to make the attempt; 'but be sure to avoid bloodshed. You may employ men to trepan them and be at some charge of punch or any other bate to draw them into your nett.'

Gladman's chance came when the three intended victims went to Swally, to have a talk with 'old Smith', who apparently held some pensioner's post there under the Company.[2] The attempt was made, but all its principal objects got away, and only a minor Interloper, called Johnson, fell into Gladman's clutches. Poor old Smith was dismissed, and Johnson sent home in custody to the Company; and the only other result was an angry letter from Capell to Gladman, in which the fire-eating purser, while refusing to allow himself to be taken by 'a troop of mechanicks', declares that he 'will not decline to meet you singly or with your second, when and where, and in what manner you please, and there try if you can accomplish your designe'; adding, in reference to the President, 'if it cost me a Thousand pound, I will cause him to be sent for home, where we will handle his button-making honour other wayes than here we do.'[3] Insulting gibes at Child's origin, usually with a reference to buttons, are frequent in the records; and we suppose that his father must have been at one time in the haberdashery business.

No greater success crowned Child's efforts in the matter of Pettit's ship, the *Prosperous*; he succeeded in gaining over her captain, Hilder, but Pettit promptly discharged him and

[1] O. C. 5010.
[2] This was probably the Robert Smith who had been sent to Bombay by the Court in 1681 as Mint Master; he had been found useless in that capacity, and was sent home soon after these events.
[3] O. C. 5013 and 5015.

put a new man of his own in command, a Captain Howell; and when Francis Day attempted to board her, Howell made a display of force and refused to let him approach. Hilder was given command of one of the Company's ships, the *Return*, which was about to sail for Bombay with a supply of powder and other stores, and there we shall meet him again shortly.

A still more serious shock awaited the President; among other articles on which duty had to be paid on leaving Surat was money, but Child had been in the habit of smuggling through the customs the various remittances that had periodically to be sent to the sub-agencies. This November, as usual, the sloop *Rainbow*, which was to take the money, was loaded up with 'Chickeens', and 'the business went on so currently that it was counted effected'.[1] But they reckoned without Pettit, who of course knew their secrets, and had given them away to the Governor. 'Your sloop near arrived Rancale, where it was to be landed, when a boat clapt her on board full of men', and to complete the misfortune, the shore suddenly appeared 'all lined with Peons'.[2] For the future the President not only had to pay duty, but found himself in the Governor's black books.

With Bowcher at Court with the Emperor, Pettit defiant and successful in Surat, Interlopers lording it at the river's mouth, and the Governor furious over the chickeens, the close of the year 1683 found John Child, in spite of the news of his approaching baronetcy, in an uncomfortable position. But he had yet to learn the worst of Pettit's vengeance, though the blow had already fallen in Bombay. One hint of the coming trouble he had had, if he could have read its indication aright, from our old friend Judge Gary, who had recently been pressing in the most insistent and mysterious way for permission to resign his appointment and leave Bombay at once. In vain Child begged him to wait till he could find a successor, pointing out that the healthy time of year in Bombay was just beginning, and that there could be no object in going away; the old judge knew better than the President that

[1] Orme's MSS. Letter from Child to the Court, November 30, 1683.
[2] Ibid.

events in Bombay were likely to take a turn very unhealthy for one of his constitution.[1]

Not until January 5, 1684, were Child's eyes opened ; on that day the *Rainbow* came unexpectedly back to Swally, bringing the news of the loss of the Island. It seems that 'turning a Little into Bombay, her Commander went ashoare; he walked from his Boate a great way, and was very neere the ffort, but as God pleased to order it, stood still and sent a man to call Mr. James Buttler.'[2] Buttler came from the Fort and 'hasted him back to his Boate, telling him as he walked along that your ffort was possessed by Captain Richard Keigwin etc., the Deputie Governor etc. imprisoned, the ship *Returne* seized on.' The Captain himself had a narrow escape, for he had 'noe sooner gott into his Boate but a muskett was discharged, Drummes beate', and a party of men sent to seize him ; 'but the Almighty was pleased to devert it.'[3]

Bombay had passed out of the hands of the Company.

[1] Surat Factory Records. Child to Ward. October 29, 1683.
[2] One of the Bombay Council. [3] O. C. 5060. January 14, 1683/4.

CHAPTER V

CHARLES WARD AND THE GARRISON IN BOMBAY, 1682–3.

MANSELL SMITH, who acted as Deputy Governor on Child's departure for Surat in December 1681, did not remain long in Bombay; for on Pettit's electing to stop in India, Mansell Smith was ordered to Persia as Agent, and on February 9 he made over charge to the new Deputy Governor, Charles Ward, the brother-in-law of the President.[1]

Ward was a man for whom nobody had a good word to say; personally, he seems to have been as tactless and almost as unpopular as the President, and to have been unable to control either his own temper or the men under his command. It must be admitted, however, that his position was a difficult one; he disgusted Bombay by continuing the system of cheese-paring begun by Child, and enraged his brother-in-law by unceasingly protesting that it was not only impolitic but dangerous, and by his repeated requests for more men, more officers, more ships, and more powder.[2] He was, in fact, in a false position, and in carrying out a policy that he disapproved of, inevitably incurred universal odium; his intentions were no doubt good enough, but his character lacked either the decision or the amenity necessary to save him in such a predicament.

The poor man's troubles began soon enough; on his arrival he found that a Mogul army was at Kalyan facing Sombaji's forces in the Corlahs; and that Bombay was becoming more and more the centre of hostilities.[3]

Sombaji threatened the immediate invasion of the Island if the Siddee were again admitted, but when April came round

[1] Orme's MSS., February 10, 1681/2.
[2] Vide many letters in Orme's MSS.
[3] For this, and the following events, vide Orme's *Fragments* and MSS.

it was impossible to prevent the entry of his fleet, and as usual the Siddee's men at once began their favourite pastime of cutting off the noses of the people on the Corlahs. Sombaji now began to act in earnest, and for a start shut off the supply of provisions through his lands, with the result that famine was added to the troubles of the unfortunate Bombay.

Meanwhile the Emperor had been fitting out at Surat a fleet of his own, to work with the Siddee and counteract the recent naval activity of the Mahrattas; this was ready in November 1682, and in that month sailed into Bombay, without any compliment to the Fort or even the common civility of giving notice to the Deputy Governor of their coming. On their arrival, 3,000 soldiers were landed at Mazagon, who practically took possession of the Island, the wretched English standing permanently on guard against them in the Fort, not knowing when they might be forced to fight for this last shelter. Sombaji, who had actually given orders for the invasion of Bombay, now changed his mind;[1] for it must have become evident to him that if the English were to be turned out, the Moguls would be first in the field; and that so long as they held the Fort they might still be useful to him against his enemies. He therefore sent an ambassador to Bombay to propose a defensive alliance with the English, and to offer them his assistance if they would make a definite stand against the yearly visits of the Mogul fleets.

Unable to face the Emperor's resentment, Child found it yet very desirable to temporize with Sombaji, and it was decided, on the return of his ambassador, to send him an envoy from Bombay; in his instructions to Ward on the subject,[2] the President specially referred to a request he had recently received from the Madras Presidency, who required a firmaund from Sombaji for their trade in his southern possessions. It was hoped that this might be obtained through the mission from Bombay, in return for the very dubious promises which were the best the English could offer. The envoy chosen was

[1] Grant Duff, ch. x., attributes Sombaji's change of policy to intelligence of great preparations on the part of Aurungzebe.

[2] Orme's MSS., December 12, 1682.

Henry Smith, the second on the Bombay Council, a man who seems to have suffered, as Orme says, from 'some intemperance, if not disorder, of mind';[1] and he set out in December with Sombaji's ambassador in the Company's balloon, or state barge. As they were landing, the balloon was boarded by the Siddee's men, and their accompanying luggage-boat carried off; Henry Smith was obliged to return to Bombay, while the ambassador, who had managed to hide himself, was landed on the mud and left to make his way home as best he could.

On this outrage, Judge Gary was sent to expostulate with Ramnaut Khan, the Mogul general at Kalyan, by whose orders both the Island and the Corlahs were left in comparative peace for the rest of the season.

In the meantime, besides Pettit's guard-house at Mahim, Ward erected five others, at Mazagon, Sion, Munchum, Merin, and on Old Woman's Island;[2] but the north-east bastion was still unfinished, and his position was much weakened by the loss of the *Revenge*, which was totally wrecked off Daman at the beginning of 1682, leaving only the *Hunter* frigate for the defence of the harbour.[3]

Such were the events to which Keigwin returned from England. He had arrived the previous cold weather (1681–2) with the commission of chief command of the Bombay forces, a seat on the Council there, and a salary of six shillings a day, with an allowance for diet.[4] His small force was in a most unsatisfactory state; for in addition to their niggardly treatment in the matter of stores and ammunition, they were seriously undermanned in the officers' ranks. The two companies were commanded, the Eldest by Captain Niccolls, and the Youngest by Lieutenant Henry Fletcher; the former we know, and of Fletcher we may say here that he seems to have

[1] Orme's *Fragments*. Smith, who had been, we believe, on the Council at Bantam, had been already once discharged, and once reduced to a private soldier; but his skill at accounts made him indispensable to the Company.

[2] Bombay Factory Records 9. Ward to Child, June 8, 1682.

[3] Captain Minchin seems to have gone to Bengal after the loss of his ship, and we find him there in 1683. But Mrs. Minchin was in Surat in 1684, staying with Madam Bowcher.

[4] Letter Book 6, March 15, 1680/1.

F 2

been a good enough officer, though illiterate and perhaps rather overwhelmed by his family; for he had five children on the Island, and Child says that he was 'ruled by his wife, a wicked woman'.[1]

Each company commander was supported by one ensign, and that was the sum-total of commissioned officers in the garrison. Niccoll's ensign was one John Thorburn, who was really the moving spirit in the rebellion; he seems to have had a cross-grained disposition, and was originally a Scotch tailor, who came out as a private 'sentinel' to Bombay, where his quickness of wit led to his being taken up by Child when Deputy Governor, and ultimately promoted to the rank of ensign.[2] Fletcher's junior was a man called Gyles, who was discharged about a year later for misconduct, and does not further appear in our story; on his discharge, Ward wanted to promote in his place Thomas Wilkins, the senior sergeant of the Eldest Company, but Child, still intent on retrenchment, would not sanction it; and even made Wilkins refund the extra pay he had drawn in anticipation of his confirmation.[3] There were thus only a captain, a lieutenant, and two ensigns for the two companies, in addition to which we hear of Sergeants Wilkins, Samuel Smith, Thomas Sugar, and Thomas Browne, two in each company. The militia was even worse off, for though they had to remain under arms all through these troubled times, they had but one ensign, Daniel Hughes, for the whole body of five hundred men; while for non-commissioned officers there were only three sergeants and two corporals. Ward begged in vain for more officers for the militia, but Child told him that Keigwin could look after it.[4]

At the end of 1682 matters were made worse by the discharge of Niccolls, who relapsed into a freeman, while the Court ordered his place to be filled by Keigwin, without any additional pay;[5] so that this officer had now, in addition to

[1] O. C. 5236.
[2] Letter Book 7. Report to Charles II of Secret Committee on Keigwin's Rebellion, August 15, 1684.
[3] Surat Factory Records 91. June 21, and October 2, 1683.
[4] Orme's MSS. Ward to Child, May 16 and October 5, 1682; Child to Ward, October 16, 1682.
[5] Letter Book 6, January 31, 1681/2.

his duties as commander of the garrison, the Eldest Company and the militia both on his hands; and at the same time he was deprived of his position on the Council.[1] This led at once to an attack on his pay; for his diet-money had hitherto been drawn at the rate laid down for Councillors, and as there was no such allowance for ordinary factors, the President contended that his diet-money went with his seat on the Council. Keigwin protested, and referred Child to the terms laid down on his reappointment, in which it was distinctly ruled that he was to have his diet free of charge; and the matter was referred home, Keigwin continuing to draw his previous allowance of Rs. 25 per month, on the understanding that he would refund it if the Court decided against him.[2]

The officers had every reason to be dissatisfied; it was sheer madness on the part of the President to pursue this policy of petty economy, when literally at any moment an attack might be made on the Fort by either Mogul or Mahratta; but Child continued to starve Bombay, and finally when the chief gunner submitted an indent for what he considered absolutely necessary, and when Charles Ward had sent it on after cutting it down as low as he dared, the President told the Court not to supply any of the stores asked for at all, as he thought them too costly.[3]

A personal grievance of the officers, the old story of the dead musters, also claims notice here; the orders of the Court abolishing this privilege, and demanding the usual refund, came out at the same time as Keigwin. The four officers concerned, Niccolls, Fletcher, Thorburn, and Gyles, thereupon composed an appeal to the Court, of which a copy survives,[4] in which they asked for a reconsideration of the orders, in terms entirely unobjectionable and free from any trace of the insubordination afterwards ascribed to them. Ward for some reason objected to it, and quite inexcusably refused even to forward it; on which the four officers sent it direct to the Court. Keigwin did not sign this document, as he was not concerned, having made a special arrangement when at home,

[1] Ibid. [2] O. C. 5001. November 30, 1683.
[3] O. C. 4974 and 5001. [4] O. C. 5062.

that he was to be allowed to draw pay for one servant. The Court's savage and stupid reply to this appeal was the last straw to be laid on the backs of their long suffering garrison in Bombay.

The year 1683 opened stormily for the Deputy Governor; where others were discontented, Henry Smith became outrageous, and there began a series of violent recriminations between him and Ward, which culminated in a disgraceful scene in Council, when Smith actually drew his sword on his superior. Child clearly considered Ward equally to blame,[1] but authority had to be supported.

'Though the Deputy Governor let fall a passionate expression,' he says, 'there is no excuse for Smith'; and again, 'though his threatening expressions to Mr. Smith had better been waved, that could be no pretence for Mr. Smith soe passionately to draw his sword, and afterwards to undervalue the Deputy Governor and persist in his abuses. . . . Wherefore to reconcile the difference in the best manner wee can, and doe the Deputy Governor right, Wee doe order and require that Mr. Hen. Smith asks the Deputy Governor's pardon before the Councell and all the Commission officers in the long Gallery in the Fort; and that he shall not be permitted to weare a sword for four Months after, without the Deputy Governor's leave first had.'[2]

The punishment seems light, but the President was by now at war with his brother-in-law, as he was with nearly every one else in India. Ward protested against Child's attitude towards him, in a letter which the President hoped was 'only an extempory passion'; but it was not, and later he wrote to the Deputy Governor:

'You tell us our letters are not pleasing, . . . but let them be morose, rude, indecent, stuffed with impertinent inquiries, and full of Ignorance, all this will not excuse you of performing your Duty . . . and paying some respect to us.'[3]

With Child bullying at Surat, and his subordinates on the

[1] Child wishes that Ward and Smith would study the affairs of the Island 'instead of heaving dirt on one another'. Surat Factory Records, October 29, 1683.

[2] Surat Factory Records 91. Child to Ward, March 16, 1683.

[3] Ibid., October 2, 1683.

verge of revolt at Bombay, Ward was between the devil and the deep sea; and must have been relieved to send Henry Smith off once more on his embassy to Sombaji. But that 'crazy councillor' was a bad selection for such a duty; negotiations went swimmingly along, and the treaty was even written out ready for signature, when Henry Smith, having apparently spent on himself the money entrusted to him for the usual presents, found the affair come to a dead stand in the absence of these civilities, and at last returned to Bombay without taking leave of Sombaji's officers.[1]

From now onwards we find him in the thick of each successive trouble; far too irresponsible and scatter-brained to be at the bottom of anything, except in the prejudiced imagination of the Deputy Governor, he was yet always frothing on the surface of whatever mischief might be brewing.

In May, two English soldiers, walking in the bazaar unarmed, were set upon by some of the Siddee's men and one of them killed, while the other was seriously wounded. This event threw the whole garrison into a fever of rage, and Ward was besieged with a clamour to demand instant retribution. They declared that the Siddee's increasing insolence had gone too long unchecked, and that if this crowning outrage were not immediately avenged in the most exemplary manner, the honour and even the safety of the English was lost irretrievably. It was almost equally dangerous to take a high tone, or to let the matter pass. Ward demanded the culprits from the Siddee, but had not the firmness to meet that admiral's evasions, who, while promising to hand them over, shipped them off secretly to Surat; and a perfect storm of fury broke over the Deputy Governor's head. Of the details of what happened we have no record; but we hear of the Youngest Company, with Fletcher and Wilkins at their head, menacingly drawn up, 'over against the ffort under the Mango tree',[2] and Henry Smith fluttering round, urging them to take vengeance into their own hands, since the Deputy Governor was afraid to face the

[1] Orme's *Fragments*. [2] O.C. 4992.

Siddee. We hear of their being finally induced to return to their quarters by the good advice of old Gary;[1] but they remained in a half-mutinous state, and shortly afterwards, on their being paid in what they declared to be debased money, there was another outbreak, which was only suppressed at the cost of shooting some and cashiering others of the mutineers.[2]

These events took place in May and June, and feeling continued to run very high, in spite of Ward's unremitting efforts to induce the Siddee to give up the murderers. Child, while negotiating with the governor of Surat for the same purpose, laid all the blame of the troubles on his wretched brother-in-law.

On the 30th June, while Bombay was still in the height of this exasperation, another event occurred which threatened the most alarming consequences.

One of the Company's ships, the *Berkeley Castle*, had arrived in the harbour, and her commander, Captain Consett, gave a party on board. Between nine and ten in the morning the guests came from the shore, comprising Henry Smith, Keigwin, Fletcher, Niccolls, and Stephen Adderton. Consett, according to Child, was 'a man of ingenuity and understanding, not at all given to drinck, nor in the Least Seemingly passionate; but what came to him the 30th June God knows.'[3] The talk apparently, after dinner, dwelt on the all-absorbing topics of the Siddee and Ward's incompetence; in the course of which mention was made of the Deputy Governor's having forbidden the purchase of slaves from the Siddee, for fear of giving offence to Sombaji, from whose Corlahs they were taken, in spite of his having notoriously bought one himself. Consett asked if the Siddee really sold slaves, and was told that nothing but Ward's order prevented him from buying as many as he liked at once. The Captain remarked that he wanted 'a girle', and without more ado got into his pinnace with his mate, and rowed across to the Siddi's own flag-ship, which was lying close by; Niccolls followed them up, and the three half-drunken Englishmen climbed up on

[1] O.C. 4987. [2] O.C. 5062. [3] O.C. 5001.

to the deck, and found themselves face to face with Cossim himself. What passed precisely, we do not know; but after a brief exchange of compliments, the three Englishmen were summarily thrown overboard, Consett with a wounded leg, and with difficulty made their way back to the *Berkeley Castle.*

On their return there was a chorus of indignation against the Siddi, and Consett, not sobered by his swim, actually fired 'nine pieces of Ordnance' at the flag-ship.[1]

Who was mainly responsible for this insane affair it is hard to say; Ward accused Henry Smith, and Child 'Niccolls, that naughty, turbulent Man'.[2] But it seems clear that the whole party, and indeed the whole of Bombay, was so wrought up against the Siddee that an explosion was almost inevitable.

The Deputy Governor as usual was blamed by all parties; the garrison was furious with him for not taking their side in what they pretended was a fresh insult from Cossim, while Child wrote him a severe reprimand for allowing the incident to take place, and for not at least serving a Protest on Captain Consett.[3] The President indeed flew into a panic, when the news arrived in Surat; remembering what Rolt had suffered from the Governor on far less serious grounds, he fully expected an attack on the factory as soon as Cossim's report arrived. 'Your unwelcome letter more like a touling bell for us all', he writes to Ward, makes him fear for the lives of 'all us here, and those Gentlemen in the Bay,[4] with the losse of the Hon. Company's whole concernes'; and again, 'When wee opened our doores this morning, did not know but what it was our last day.'[5]

Fortunately Consett's ordnance had done but little damage, and the matter ended with a severe scolding from the Governor; but of course all hope of reparation for the bazaar murder had to be given up; and the only other results were a Protest served on Consett, and the suspension of Henry Smith.

[1] O.C. 5062 and 5117. [2] O.C. 5001.
[3] Surat Factory Records 91. September 6, 1683. [4] Bengal.
[5] Surat Factory Records 91. Child to Ward, July 13, 1683.

This maniac's proceedings had now passed all bounds; he was openly raving against Ward and preaching sedition among the garrison, and 'hardly anything was done in Councill, but immediately it was at the Coffee House.'[1] Finally, his wife, who seems to have been a good match for him, sent her servant with a message to the Deputy Governor, which like President Rolt 'we know not well how to put into such decent terms as may fitly become us.' Ward, who was talking at the time to Peachy Wattson, the senior chaplain, and Gape of his Council, 'proposed whether woemen were not as liable to punishment as men, . . . and then said there was ducking and carting.'[2]

On his suspension, Smith and his wife got on board a boat and went up to Swally, where they gave the Surat Council almost as much trouble as they had caused in Bombay.

In this ferment passed the rainy season of 1683. We have traced the causes of the rising discontent among the officers and even on the Council at Bombay; and have seen the soldiers, with their long-standing grievance about the rate of exchange, rising in abortive mutiny at the distribution of Ward's debased coins, which according to Keigwin's account were 'patched up with peices, which by Phillopping would drop out. They looked as if they had come from an Hospitall, and seemed to want Justice as well as pittie.'[3] The sufferings of the rank and file were aggravated by the increasing scarcity of provisions, for although Sombaji had withdrawn his embargo on their importation, the neighbourhood of the Mogul army had cleared the country, while a war recently begun between the Mahrattas and the Portuguese made the transport of cattle and other comestibles almost impossible.

Keigwin, in his long letter to Charles II detailing the grievances of the garrison,[4] gives a very interesting table comparing the prices of various articles at the end of 1683 with what had formerly obtained; we give it in full:

[1] O. C. 4992.
[2] O. C. 4992.
[3] O. C. 5062.
[4] Ibid.

	Formerly Bought	Now Sold
Batty[1]	at 20 X.[2] and 22 X. (per mora)	40 X.
Hogs	„ 2 and 3 X.	8 and 10 X.
Piggs	„ 1 Larree[3]	3 Larrees
Hens	„ 3 and 4 Pice[4]	10 Pice
Chickens	„ $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 Pice	3, 4, 6 Pice
Ducks	„ 6 and 8 Pice	20 Pice
Beefe per lb.	„ 1 Pice	1$\frac{1}{4}$ Pice
Goat „ „	„ 1$\frac{1}{4}$ Pice	2$\frac{1}{2}$ Pice
Wood	„ 8 Larrees	12 Larrees

Keigwin ascribes the difference in prices to Ward's oppressive dealing. 'Neighbouring parts', he says, 'abound with plenty, the Deputy Governor, Mr. Ward, continues buying Cheape and selling deare, and that the price may not fall nor wee glutted with plenty, he exports all Corne to other parts, and Orders the Clerke of the Markett at such a rate and noe higher, nor will reduce it Lower.' 'Goa Arrack,' he goes on, 'the Cheif Ingredient to make Punch, and the only cheife Household drinke of the Island, and the most potable and cheapest Liquor the Soldiers can drink for cheering their Spirits in a drink water Country, is bought at Goa for 30 and 32 Xs per Butt at highest, sold here by the Deputy Governor for 120 X. per Butt.' Ward, he says, would not 'suffer any to send to Goa, or if any Almodeas or Goa Boates touched here, hee supplied himselfe with what quantity and at what Price he will, afterwards forcing them away with the rest, not suffering A housekeeper to buy one hogshead for theire family; . . . hee and his Brother Child before him Monopolizing that and all other Comodities. . . . This is is the Magna Charta, or rather Scandalum Magnatum.'[5]

As regards the Arrack, we may accept it that Ward and Child were attempting a Temperance Tariff; their efforts to keep down drinking in Bombay were undisguised. But for the daily provisions no such reason could hold, and we must believe that the fact of prices being fixed by the Clerk of the

[1] Batty was the Bombay term for rice.
[2] One X. or one xerapheen = twenty pence.
[3] One larree = between six and seven pence.
[4] One pice = about a halfpenny. [5] O. C. 5062.

Market, under Ward's supervision, was the only ground for the accusation. The high prices were almost certainly forced on him by the scarcity outside, as his still extant reports to the President assert; and we cannot believe that any one in his senses would have been guilty of such a 'Scandalum Magnatum' as is suggested.[1]

Such, however, was evidently the talk among the soldiers, and it was only the influence of Keigwin and the other officers that could keep them under control; and in the cold weather came the ferocious orders from the Court that turned that influence also against them.

The Court, it appears, had received the officers' petition about the dead musters, and 'resent it very ill'. 'We look upon it as proceeding from a mutinous inclination as being dissatisfyd with our establishment . . . and therefore do hereby dismiss' all the four officers signing it.[2]

Of the four, Niccolls and Gyles had already gone, but the President immediately carried out the Court's orders on the other two, and Fletcher and Thorburn were dismissed. Keigwin, who was thus left absolutely the only commissioned officer in the garrison, was told that he must manage to get along for the present with the help of his four sergeants.

The cup was now full, and officers and men together embarked unanimously on a plot to terminate the power on Bombay of this monstrous Company, that knew neither how to treat its own servants with common decency, nor to uphold the honour of the nation among the heathen. We have no light on the counsels of the mutineers before the outbreak, beyond a glimpse of Thorburn deep in business, whose wife 'complayned severall times that her husband was so taken up with

[1] Since writing the above, we have found the following in a letter (O.C. 5510, July 28, 1686), written by John Jesop, one of Ward's Council, to President Child: 'What I know of the Batty was before I went to Surrat. Batty was Bought at X. 23 and 24 per morah, which might well have been sold under the price of 40 X., but though Mr. Ward Did Threaten to make the Inhabitants sell at Zerap. 32 per morah, yet they sold at 40, not by Concent of the Councel, but for this privaledg it was Reported that Each merchant Dd. to Mr. Ward 5 moras of Batty at X. 24 per morah.' An unexpected corroboration of Keigwin's accusation.

[2] Letter Book 7. September 25, 1682. To Bombay.

writeing that she had none of his Company night nor day'.[1] This 'little ffalse Scott' was evidently the heart and soul of the conspiracy, and it was he who drafted and wrote out the Proclamation and the Commissions that had to be ready for the coup.

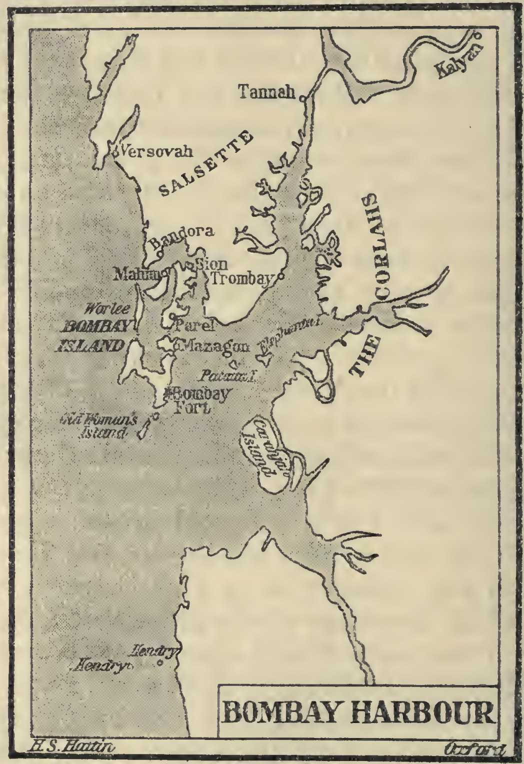
The connexion of Pettit and Bowcher with the rising is not very clear. Their contemporaries in the opposite camp, and the Company's historian, unhesitatingly set down the whole rebellion to their malicious schemes,[2] a charge that overlooks the exasperation of the garrison at its own grievances. Moreover, there is no proof remaining that they were parties to the plot before its realization. No sooner, however, was the rebellion an accomplished fact than we find them hand and glove with the mutineers; and the fact that Pettit was immediately appointed their commercial representative, and that the treatment of him and Bowcher was given a prominent place in the list of the rebels' grievances, leads us to surmise that, if not the chief instigators, they were at any rate privy to the mutiny, even before it took place. And we may guess that the auspicious moment for the outbreak was probably chosen on their advice of the dispatch from Surat of Captain Hilder, on the *Returne*, with a supply of 60,000 rupees and various stores, destined for the smaller agencies on the Malabar Coast, and instructions to call in at Bombay with some powder for the Fort. It was, accordingly, on the arrival of the *Returne*, that Keigwin gave the signal.

Keigwin himself had no personal grievance against the Company; he was, in fact, almost the only individual in Bombay of any consequence at all who had none. The question of his diet-money was as yet unsettled, and though of course it was finally decided against him, (a refund being as usual demanded,) the news of this was not yet out; on the contrary, the same shipping that dismissed Fletcher and Thorburn, restored to Keigwin his seat on the Council. He threw in his lot with the rest of the garrison partly no doubt from sympathy with their grievances, but chiefly because he

[1] O. C. 5038. [2] Bruce, ii. 524.

was disgusted at the misgovernment of the Island, and the tyranny and injustice of the Company towards its own servants; and was honestly of the opinion that he could himself manage matters much better for the present, while ultimately the Island ought to be governed by the Crown.

For this rebellion was a disloyalty neither to his King nor his Country, but only to the East India Company.



BOMBAY HARBOUR

CHAPTER VI

THE REBELLION

In December 1683 there were two chaplains in Bombay, Mr. Peachy Watson, who had come out in 1678, and Mr. John Church, the junior chaplain, who had been there only a few months. The latter has left us an excellent account of the mutiny,[1] from which we shall take our narrative, supplementing it from the official report made to Child by the the members of the Bombay Council.[2]

'On St. John's day Last, being the 27th of December,' he begins, after the manner of his cloth, 'according to the usuall Coustome about 7 of the clock in the morning I went to the Fort to Prayers, and being muster day, I waited some time till the other Company marched in to relieve the guard.' . . . 'Captain Richard Keigwin led the Eldest Company in, as accustomary, he being to take charge of the Guard for a weake, and as they marched in, Henry Fletcher and John Thorburn followed close in the Reare; and as soone as they were entred the Fort Gates John Thorburn turned about and orderd the sentry with some others of the souldiers in his Majesties name to assist him in shutting the Gates. Which done, he came up to the head of both Companies who faced one the other in order to be Mustered after Prayers; but immediately Captain Keigwin ordered them to rest theire Armes and wheele in, closing one with the other, when the said John Thorburn made a small speech to them, which as neare as can be remembred was to this effect: Gentlemen and ffellow Souldiers, it is now two months since we have had our Commissions taken from us by order of the English East India Company, for petitioning to them for what is our due; and it is well knowne the Deputy Governor would have sould the Island and us to Sombazee Rajah for 40,000 Pagodas, and you see, Gentlemen, what a potent Enemy he is against the Portugueze, having taken most of their Country; and wee do not know how soone he may attempt the Island, and there is

[1] O.C. 5038. [2] O.C. 5065.

no provision laid in for us. Wee are therefore resolved not to suffer these abuses any longer, but revolt to his Majestie, taking all into our possession for his use. ' Which said, waving his hatt he bid the Souldiers shoute, who did as they were Commanded.'

After this Keigwin ordered them to fall back in their places, and three files of men to follow Henry Fletcher and John Thorburn;

'who came up through the Long Gallery, where I then was, with theire swords drawne and Muskets cockt, some of the Souldiers crying all the way: Damme, Letts fire; till they came to the Deputy Governor's chamber, where they surprised him in his bed, or just out of it. . . . Thorburn laying hould on him asked him if he heard the news that the ffort and Island was taken by them for the use of his Majestie, and that he was their Prisoner, and must goe along with them; the Deputy Governor desired they would lett him and the Council know their greivances, and they would if possable give them satisfaction to their content, and desired that the Commisson officers might be sent for up, to discourse the business, and at the same instant looked out of his Chamber Window and called to Captain Keigwin to come up. But he would not take any notice of him, but sent his boy up to John Thorburn to make haste and bring the Deputy Governor downe. The said Thorburn tould the Deputy Governor that they had waited with patience a long time to litle purpose; it was not now a time to dispute the matter, and Swore by God if he did not goe along with them immediately he would rune him through. Then the Deputy Governor desired he might have one or two of the Councill with him, but they would not consent to it, and soe forced him out of his Chamber to a little roome under one of the bastians belonging to the Store Keeper, not permitting him as he went by to speake to the Souldiers, but keept him close Prisoner, and none to goe neare him but some of his owne servants. . . .

'Then ffletcher and Thorburn repaired to both Companies, and Thorburn pulls out of his pocket severall papers' which he read, and then 'proposed to them the choice of another governour, whereupon they all cryed out "A Keigwin, A Keigwin"——'

The newly elected Governor then sat down to dinner, surrounded by his adherents, and at the end of the meal Captain Hilder, who had come ashore from the *Returne*, rose

in his place and 'Protested Publickly' against Keigwin and all his abettors.

While these events were happening in the Fort, a party under Wilkins was sent on board the *Returne* and summoned the mate to surrender her to the new Government; asked for his commission, Wilkins merely showed his musket, and when the mate, on a search being threatened, threw the keys overboard, the soldiers broke open the 'round house and study', and carried off the Company's money, scrupulously leaving Hilder's private cash untouched.

The afternoon was spent in securing Hilder and the members of Council 'in the Secretary's Chamber', in swearing in the soldiers, and in sealing up under lock and key, in Keigwin's own room, the treasury chest of the Fort and the money from the *Returne*, with Ward's personal effects. Requiring to open the treasury chest to put in some more money, they sent for Vergis and Stanley, two of Ward's Council, to be present during the operation. Everything was carried out with business-like regularity, and in perfect coolness, Keigwin in particular displaying the greatest good humour.

In the evening, when the two chaplains went to take their leave of him, he called them aside,

'Desireing our Judgements concerning what he had done, saying 'twould be a great satisfaction to him to have it justified under our hands. Mr. Watson answered in justification of the rebellion, saying he should have his hand when he Pleased; I desired him to excuse me as being a stranger to affaires of that Nature, which he very readily did, saying he would impose nothing upon me against my will.'

'Next day,' continues Mr. Church, 'the Proclamation was published with a great deale of solemnity after this manner. First of all went the Trumpetters and Country Musick; then came Ensigne Thorburne, Capt. Adderton, and Mr. Cully on Horseback; after them a company of English souldiers with Collors flying and drums beateing, then a company of the Militia which waited for them at the Smith's Shop. These were mett by two companys more of the Militia, who accompanyed them to the Bazar, where they read the Proclamation in English and Portuguese, and immediately fired 3 vollyes in

token of Joy, which were seconded by 7 or 9 great gunns from the Fort, and then returned in great tryumph to the Fort, where they spent the remayning Part of that day, and the day ffollowing, in swereing the Militia, signeing of Commissions. Lieft. Fletcher was made Captain of the Youngest Company, Ensigne Wilkins Lieftenant, and Sam^ll^ Smith Ensigne of the same; Ensigne Thorburne Captain Lieft. of the Eldest Company, Serg^t^. Sugar Ensigne of the same; Ensigne Thorburne Secretary of State, Ensigne Hues Lieft. of the Militia, Sergeant Cully Store Keeper, Thomas Pettit[1] Purser of the Marine, Captain Adderton captain of the *Returne* and Admirall, Captain Russell[2] captain of the *Hunter* and Vice-Admirall.'

'Thus', he concludes, 'were the Hon. Company deprived of all theire concernes in Bombaym by the Interest of Two or Three discontented and Factious Persons, the most active of which was that little ffalse Scott Thorburne.'

The prominence of Thorburn in the mutineers' councils can be measured by the places he held under their government. In a letter to a friend in England he writes, with pardonable complacency,

'I am employed in all the chiefest offices of the Island, as Attorney Generall for his Majesty, Treasurer, Chief Justice, Accomptant, Secretary, Captn. Lieut. of the first company of garrison souldiers. The Inhabitants are exceedingly well pleased with my equitable decisions.'[3]

We may suppose, indeed, that any relief from Judge Gary had its bright side, but the doubling of the parts—for instance, of Attorney General and Chief Justice—would not tend, we should have thought, to inspire much confidence.

Keigwin's Proclamation, which is given in full in Appendix C., announced briefly the end of the Company's rule, and the reversion of the Island to the King, with Keigwin as his Governor; and one clause in it, which perhaps marks the influence of Pettit, declared that trade was free and open to

[1] A brother (?) of John Pettit. He had been recently suspended from Ward's Council.

[2] Nathaniel Russell was a freeman; when Adderton was promoted to admiral and given the *Returne*, his old ship, the *Hunter*, passed to Russell.

[3] O. C. 5068.

all his Majesty's subjects, and that no monopoly was henceforth to be permitted.

The entire population, English, Portuguese, and Native, also signed an oath of allegiance to the new Governor, in consideration for which their old privileges, including freedom of religion, were confirmed.[1]

The ease with which the revolution was accomplished shows how unanimous was the opinion against the Company; Captain Hilder's speech after dinner was the only opposition it had to meet, and, with the exception of him and the Council, we hear of only four among the inhabitants who declined to subscribe to the oath, although Keigwin was careful to avoid applying any pressure. The four were Church, Niccolls, Gary, and Dr. Bird, the chirurgeon; and that they were influenced more by caution than any strong feeling of repugnance is shown by the fact that Church was the only one of them that elected to leave the Island, when they had the opportunity; while Gary, at least, was not only in the mutineers' councils, but accepted important employment in their service.

As regards Hilder and the Councillors, Keigwin put them on board a country vessel and packed them off to Surat, remarking that Child would need all the additional advice he could get; the Deputy Governor was kept in confinement in Bombay till the end of the rebellion.

The mutineers then composed a long and curious letter, of which one copy was sent to King Charles II, and the other to the Court at home; in which they recited at great length the grievances they had to complain of, and the malpractices of the Company, and in particular of John Child and Charles Ward. This document[2] is extremely long and very badly put together; most of the matters complained of have already been referred to in these pages, and the stories of the loss of Hendry Kendry, of the unchastised insolences of the Siddee, and of Captain Consett's adventure, are mixed up in the greatest confusion with complaints of the rate of pay, of the dead musters, of the officers' discharge, and of the lack of powder, and with the most ridiculous accusations against 'that

[1] O. C. 5027. [2] O. C. 5062.

known misantropos Mr. John Child, and his accessories Sir Josia Child in England and Mr. Charles Ward in India'.

Of these it will suffice to mention two; it appears there was a design to sell the Fort, and John Child, they say, had been heard to talk in this strain. Similar words 'are reported to be spoke by the Company's Oracle Sir Josia Child, vizt. That the Company did not care if Bombay were as far under as above water.'

More curious is the other, this time against Ward, of having 'left God and run and sacrificed to the Devill for money'. The accusation is obscurely worded, and unfortunately no details are given, but it is clear that the story went that the Deputy Governor had been guilty of Witchcraft, in the search for hidden treasure. In his covering letter to the Duke of York,[1] Keigwin puts it more clearly and more horribly; 'their Avarice hath been such as to encourage Sorcery to find out hidden Treasure, for which humane blood was sacrificed.'

The charge was probably put in largely to add a lurid touch to the crimes of the Company's servants; but it was by no means intrinsically incredible. Even in Europe most people still believed in witchcraft, and it was but three years since the celebrated trial of the woman Voisin, who was burnt for this crime in connexion with the Marquise de Brinvillier's poisonings. In Bombay there was a conviction for witchcraft as late as 1724,[2] and in Keigwin's time there is ample evidence of its being a universally accepted fact.

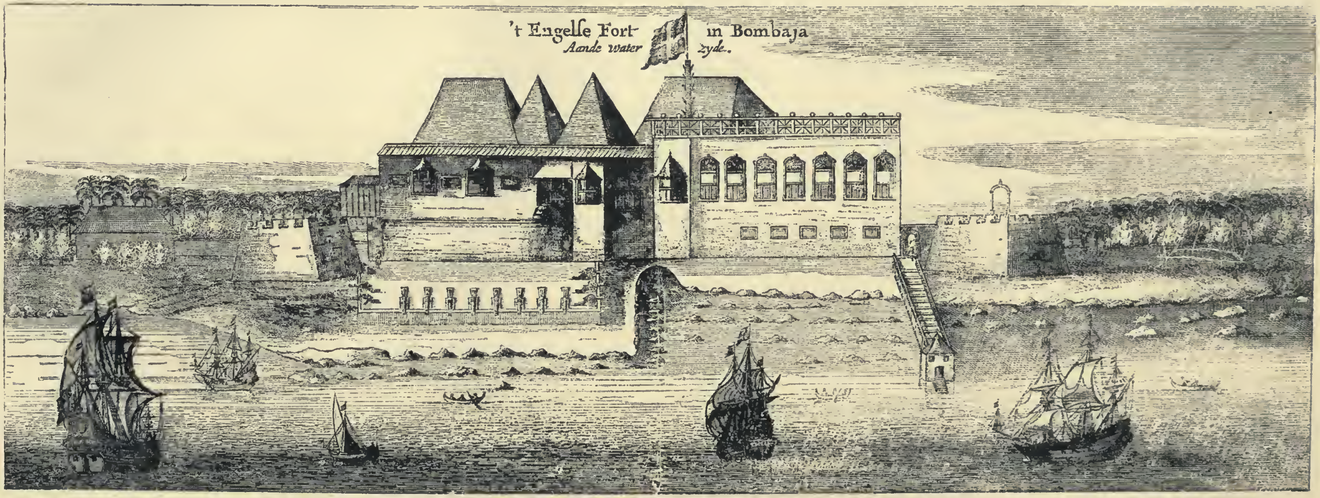
Having secured his position, Keigwin's first care was to put the garrison and defences of Bombay on a more satisfactory footing. The shortage of officers he made good, as we have seen, by promotions from among the non-commissioned officers; and the rank and file were to receive pay at their old rate of twenty-one shillings a month, but reckoned now at the current bazaar rate of exchange,[3] and a month was to be twenty-eight days, giving thirteen months to the year.[4]

[1] O.C. 5073.

[2] Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*. The last trial in England was in 1712.

[3] About eighteen pence to the xeraphin, instead of twenty, which was the rate fixed by the Company.

[4] O.C. 5027.



BOMBAY FORT FROM THE HARBOUR C. 1720

Showing St. Thomas bastion completed, the landing steps, and the long gallery

The defences of the Fort and Island were next thoroughly overhauled; work on the unfinished bastion, now untouched for four years, was again started and carried on 'with the greatest vigour imaginable, working thereon day and night';[1] and guards were placed on the most important of the small islands in the harbour,[2] to prevent their following the unhappy example of Hendry Kendry. Idleness was no part of the new régime.

Meanwhile a letter had been written and sent to Surat for distribution,[3] calling on the factors there to imitate the example of Bombay, and seize and depose the President.

Great was the rejoicing at Madam Bowcher's. George Bowcher was still at Aurungzebe's court, but both his wife and John Pettit had special letters from the mutineers; and amid a perfect shower of Protests we read of the good lady coming out 'in a Transport of Joy from Mrs. Minchin's chamber', to share her elation with Pettit, in the presence of several witnesses who could be trusted to repeat to the President, in solemn depositions, their expressions of delight at his new troubles.[4]

The unfortunate Child, who describes the news from Bombay as 'a bitter pill that damages all our Joyes, hove us into amazed thoughts, great trouble, and very seveere perplexities',[5] summoned his Council for a Consultation on the position. The second at Surat was now Charles Zinzan, who had come out in the last shipping to take Pettit's place, from a desk in Leadenhall Street, where he had served the Company for many years in the Accountant's office;[6] a worthy and kindhearted man, foredoomed to shipwreck in the attempt to combine loyalty to a chief he disliked with his own feelings of justice and humanity. The rest on the Council were Francis Day, George Gosfright, who had recently come from Bantam, Bartholomew Harris, John Gladman, and John Hornigold.[7] Their first step was to send a small vessel to cruise off Bombay, to warn off

[1] O. C. 5038. Zinzan to Child, January 17, 1683/4. [2] O. C. 5196.
[3] O. C. 5031. Keigwin to Council, merchants, and factors at Surat.
[4] O. C. 5053–5056. [5] O. C. 5060.
[6] Court Book 33. September 8, 1682.
[7] The same who fought with Captain Minchin.

any ships of the Company that might approach; and their next to appoint a Commission, of Zinzan, Day, and Gosfright, to go to the Island and see if they could prevail by threats, promises, or appeals, in persuading the mutineers to return to their duty. There were six of the Company's vessels in Swally Hole at the time, of which three were taking in cargo for the voyage home; the other three, the *Rainbow*, the *Coast Frigate*, and the *Laurel*, were available, and with these the Commissioners set out on January 11, 1684.[1]

Their instructions gave them a wide discretion; they were to proceed with caution, sending a boat ashore to try to get word with Dr. Bird or one of the chaplains, on whose information they might form further plans. Conciliation was to be tried in the first instance, and they carried with them a provisional pardon, signed by the President, to all who would return to their allegiance on the summons. Should this fail, they were to attempt to work on the weaker mutineers 'by what encouragement you may think fitt, to gett Possession of the Fort and Island, by cutting off one, two, or more of the Principall Rebells'; however, the instructions conclude, they are to try 'all faire meanes first', and avoid bloodshed if possible.

On January 12 they picked up the boat with Captain Hilder and the Bombay councillors on their way to Surat, and next day arrived off Bassein, when they sent a boat to attempt a secret landing on the Island. The mutineers, however, kept too good a watch, and the boat came back without effecting anything; and the next day they sent again with a flag of truce, and letters calling on the rebels to surrender. Keigwin, in his polite reply, expressed surprise at the flag of truce; as the King's Governor he was not at war with any one, least of all with the King's subjects, and any one who liked was welcome to come ashore unharmed, so long as no attempt was made to subvert the King's government. As to surrendering Bombay, that was quite out of the question; the Island had now reverted to the King, and the Company had no further claim on it.

[1] The proceedings of the Commissioners, and of President Child during his visit to Bombay, are taken from O.C. 5062–5107, unless otherwise stated.

The Commissioners then sat down to write personal appeals; Zinzan to Keigwin, with whom he had struck up a friendship on the Captain's last visit to England, and Day to Thorburn, with whom he was connected by marriage. They were little likely to succeed. Day's effort was particularly unpersuasive, being the dreariest lecture about the distress of 'Cossen Thorburn's' family at his sad proceedings; 'Cossen,' he concludes, 'pray consider seriously with yourselfe what *Praemunire* you have fallen into.'

The replies were courteous but decided; Keigwin, while declining to argue on his revolution, expressed himself as quite unaltered in his private feelings, and as a proof of friendliness, concluded his letter with a warning: 'If you intend your ships home this yeare, keep your men on board; if they proffer themselves to serve His Majesty, I am obliged to entertaine them in these troublesome times.'

The hint was a timely one, and it was not long before the Commissioners saw how strong was Keigwin's position; while these negotiations were proceeding, the boatswain of the *Rainbow*, and the boatswain's mate of the *Laurel*, escaped at midnight 'in a small Canno' and made their way to the Island, where they joined the rebels.

A day or two later Keigwin, all courtesy, sent back the latter when the Captain of the *Laurel* complained that he was short of hands; but from this time it was clear on which side the common sympathies lay, even outside Bombay, among the Company's men, and it soon became less a question of reducing Bombay than of preventing the mischief from going further.

Meanwhile Zinzan, 'with great courage and freedome', went ashore in person, and being entertained with civility, his example was followed by the other two Commissioners; negotiations were now carried on by conversation, quite fruitlessly, but with perfect temper on the part of the mutineers, if we except one unfortunate occasion when Day was dining at the Fort, and Cossen Thorburn, 'before the Wine and Punch evaporated', bragged that he would go and burn Swally, and seize the person of the President.

So the time passed by, until Child, receiving Zinzan's report,

resolved to go himself to Bombay with the three remaining ships, the *Scipio Africanus*, the *Success*, and the *Charles*. He arrived on the 30th January, and came, as Keigwin says, 'triumphing with St. George's flag to anchor'.

The President's first step was to follow the Commissioners' example in writing an appeal to the mutineers. His letter was a general one to all parties and must have caused considerable amusement in the Fort.

'Gentlemen,' he says,[1] 'you all know me, and I can appeale to everyone of you whether ever I wronged any of you in the least, or was the least unhandsome to you. Indeed for Captain Keigwin,[2] Ensign Fletcher and Ensign Wilkins, I have noe notice given me of their being abusive with their tongues; and for the expressions I am told fell from Capt. Adderton and Ensigne Thorburne, my Particular obligations to them (*sic*) might have perswaded them to use me with more respect; two that I have tenderly loved and taken some care of. Oh, Johny Thorburne, thy Ingratitude is of deep dye. . . . Come, one, two or three of you, and looke on your Governour; I am the same that lived amongst you nott long agoe, and then had warrs with Sevajee Rajah and great disturbances from the Portugueze, yett protected you all with God's blessing. . . . I pray send off to me my sick Brother-in-Law, . . . and my deare Sister and three neeces; . . . I would likewise desire of you Mr. Watson, Capt. Gary, Doctor Bird, the Portugueze Secretary, and that you doe not hinder any others comeing to me as they please. I pray lett me know if you have any certeine news of Peace betweene Sombajee Rajah and the Portugueze.'

Keigwin replied,[3] as usual, like a gentleman, 'As for your Brother Ward, it's what you cannot expect, unless you desire his Lady and Children, who shall bee sent you with any of the other Persons you have mentioned, who all deny they either desired it from you, or doe desire it from us'; but he would detain no one who wished to go, a permission which Padre Church alone took advantage of.

The lack of supplies was the weak point of Bombay, and Child accordingly determined to try the effect of a blockade;

[1] O. C. 5062.
[2] Written 'ffletcher' by the copyist; an evident error for 'Keigwin'.
[3] Ibid.

two ships laden with provisions for the Island were therefore stopped outside by the President's small fleet. Unfortunately, he was so imprudent as still to allow his subordinates to go to and from the Fort, which they now did freely, and naturally enough Keigwin seized Zinzan and Day on one of these visits, and refused to release them until the President sent in the two provision ships.

Another attempt of Child's was no more successful. The *Society* Interloper, which we last heard of in Surat, had come into Bombay, by Pettit's directions, at the first news of the rebellion, and was now lying at Mahim. The President got word that Keigwin was sending home on her his letters to the King, and determined to make an effort to capture her. The *Scipio* and *Charles* accordingly bore down on her as she lay at anchor, but the Interloper, seeing the danger, slipped her cable and got into shoal water, where the Company's vessels, being more heavily laden, could not follow. On the captain of the *Scipio* rowing up in his pinnace, he 'perceived a man presenting a blunderbuss' at him, and had to retire; on which the President ordered a watch to be kept on her to prevent her escape; 'but it fell out soe', he says rather vaguely,[1] that the Interloper in the night gott away, and deprived your President of doing that acceptable piece of Service he designed.'

That this failure was due to something more serious than mere bungling was soon evident to Child; and we now find his letters full of complaints about the disloyalty of the Company's captains and their crews. They made it perfectly clear to him, the men by outspoken threats, and their commanders by excuses and obstructions, that they would take no active part at all either against the mutineers, or against the Interlopers that sided with them. 'Wee are in a most miserable condicon', he tells the Company,[2] 'to see your Honours and ourselves robbed, and cannott take satisfaction; and if wee were resolved to doe it, none of your Commanders will obey us, nay in this businesse of Bombay they make a scruple, and demand who must pay for their Ships; they alone are not to be blam'd,

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. February 2, 1683/4. Child to the Company.
[2] Ibid., February 4, 1683/4.

but the Ships' Company, who tells us plainly they will not fight, nor adventure their limbs.' Thus, too, when at a Consultation off Bombay it was proposed to make some attempt on the Fort, the scheme had to be dropped, 'it being considered that wee have not sufficient strength to reduce them by force, neither would any of the 3 shipps' Companys, should any attempt be made, fight or stand by us; but rather, on the Contrary, side with those naughty people, they having att severall times given sufficient cause of jealousie thereof in their publick discourse.'[1]

It is indeed quite evident that, in Western India at any rate, the feeling at this time against the Company and the President was so strong as to be practically unanimous; and there was no hope whatever of putting down the mutiny with the forces available on the spot. Bombay could only be regained by the help of men who had not experienced the exasperating effects of the government of the two Childs; and meanwhile there was no small danger of the trouble spreading.

Interlopers were multiplying; already, besides the *Society*, there were two in Surat, the *Diamond* and *Speedwell*, with news of others on their way. And these pests were now being used to disseminate Papillon's propaganda in India; 'they fill men's heads with wind', complains John Child, 'by their discourses with some, and giving abundance of printed papers and manuscripts . . . it cannot be thought but a giddy-headed multitude of sailors and souldiers delight in novelties, and it must be more than ordinary diligence and industry to keepe them in obedience at such a time as this is.'[2]

Unable to do anything by open methods, Child's only hope was to sow dissension among the mutineers themselves, and he cast about for means towards this desirable end. The rebels having proclaimed free trade, the President suggested that one of his officials should be allowed to reside on the Island to look after the Company's mercantile interests, his somewhat transparent object being to have an agent in the opposite camp to tamper with the weaker or more venal

[1] O. C. 5076. [2] Surat Factory Records. January 25, 1683/4.

among the mutineers. The proposal was at once acceded to by Keigwin, who, however, added the pregnant warning that any one trying to subvert the King's Government would of course be punished as a traitor; a hint that made Child drop the plan, as impracticable. Various other futile expedients occurred to him, to make 'dissension and division among them by underhand practice', and we catch a glimpse of some attempted secret negotiation with Captain Gary, 'a private designe on shoare, which lyes a secrett in our owne breasts, therefore not think fitt to include here.'[1]

One after another these plans fell through, and Child was at last obliged to confess himself defeated. Even a blockade was unsafe to attempt, for fear of the defection of the Company's ships, and he therefore sent the *Charles*, *Scipio*, and *Success* to England, and with his other three vessels decided to return to Surat.

Some steps were necessary to warn approaching vessels that Bombay was not in the Company's hands, and it was decided to station men in convenient positions on shore, rather than leave a boat to cruise about, which might desert or be captured by the rebels' vessels, the *Hunter* or *Returne*. With this object, arrangements were made with the Siddee's people on Hendry, that they would warn any vessel approaching from the south; while for ships from the northward Versovah was selected, a Portuguese post on Salsette, just north of Bombay, on which two of Ward's ex-councillors, William Vergis and William Newman, were settled, with the permission of the Portuguese authorities.

On the occasion of these negotiations, we find it recorded that the Portuguese captain of Versovah was presented with 'a Chest of Shiraz-wine,[2] and a good cheese', and his 'scrivan' having also assisted, it was agreed 'to give him an ordinary hatt, and soe send him on shoare'.[3]

Having thus spent a month in vain endeavours, the President, on March 3rd, 1684, set sail for Surat, leaving Bombay for the present in the hands of 'those notorious naughty wicked People, Keigwin, etc.'

[1] O. C. 5076. [2] Wine from Shiraz in Persia. [3] O. C. 5076.

CHAPTER VII

THE REBELS IN SURAT AND BOMBAY, 1684.

HENRY SMITH, on being suspended after Captain Consett's unfortunate dinner-party, had gone off with his wife, as we have seen, to Swally; and had there proceeded to pour into the President's too willing ear a long farrago of idiotic charges against Ward. Child, always ready to listen to stories against his enemies,—and among such he considered his brother-in-law,— treated these accusations, absurd as they were, with the utmost seriousness; and the last few months of the Deputy Governor's rule in Bombay, before the mutiny broke out, were embittered by the necessity of answering in detail a series of malicious and ridiculous libels.

For instance, Smith asserted that when some natives had been fined 400 X. for using false dice, Ward had proposed in full Council to share the amount among themselves, which 'I and Keigwin denied, saying . . . if once we found the sweetnesse of fines comeing into our own pocketts, we should quickly make the whole Island know how dextrous we were at it.' Whereupon Ward decided to spend the money on charity, but 'what charitable actions he has done since I am to learn, except mending the great Organn.'[1]

Child accepted all this as true, and, without even asking Ward for his version of the affair, told him to refund the amount of the fine into the Company's cash, 'for if you have a mind to be charitable, it's properest to use your own money.'[2]

The ill-used Deputy Governor was obliged to get attestations from Keigwin and the other councillors, to the effect that the whole story was an invention, before the President could be induced to drop it; and this kind of correspondence

[1] O. C. 4987.
[2] Surat Factory Records 91. Child to Ward, October 29, 1683.

dragged on till the Rebellion, which found Henry Smith still at Swally and not yet entirely discredited with John Child.

Very characteristically, the President determined to use him as a means of getting information of the rebels' plans; and accordingly directed him to enter into a treacherous correspondence with Keigwin, Pettit, and their friends, 'whereby to gett under their hands testimonys of their Villainy'. Henry Smith raised no objections to the proposal, and 'behaved himselfe to great Satisfaction for some time, and mannaged the intrigue very notably, and with abundance of Zeale as it was thought then'; it was not long, however, before the suspicion arose that he 'plaid a counterplot',[1] and that he was in reality scheming to escape from Swally, where he was being kept under supervision, and join the rebels in Bombay. Ultimately he made a midnight dash for Surat, and his escape was only just discovered in time for Hornigold to pursue him on horseback and catch him before he had crossed the river.[2] These events took place while the President was at Bombay, and on his return it was finally decided that Henry Smith was 'a most notorious, obstinate, haughty, false, lying fellowe', and he was sent home; his wife, however, who was to have been sent with him, made good her escape to Surat, where she was taken in by Madam Bowcher, 'a couple of fitt companions that it's great pitty two houses should be troubled withall'.[3]

In Bombay the question of supplies was still acute, and on the departure of Child and his ships, Keigwin decided to risk sending Adderton to Surat to bring back a cargo of provisions; the arrangements were undertaken by Pettit, who was entitled 'His Majesty's ffactor Gennerall on acco[tt] Merchandize', and Adderton was instructed that he was 'left wholly to the Prudent mannagement of that Loyall and honourable Gentleman', after his arrival at Surat.[4]

The *Returne*, appropriately renamed 'the *Returne Royal*',

[1] O. C. 5127. [2] O. C. 5126.
[3] Surat Factory Records 91. Child to the Court, May 1, 1684.
[4] O. C. 5033. March 6, 1683/4. Instructions from Keigwin to Captain Stephen Adderton.

arrived in Surat river's mouth about the 20th March, and was in early communication with Pettit. Child was at Swally at the time, but as soon as he got the news, he sent orders to the Council in Surat[1] to try to get the Governor to make her over to the Company, or at any rate to allow them to make an attempt on her themselves; and meanwhile to get accurate information of the rebels' strength on board.

Pettit's influence with the Governor was still effective, and he would have nothing to say to the Council's request; but John Hornigold reported that there were not more than sixty men on board, and of these only twenty-five English; he thought her capture quite feasible, 'for the ship is not stronger than any of ours, considering the black Fellows, and force of Guns no more then when they took her'.

The risk of this must have been weighed by Keigwin and Pettit before they decided on the step of sending her to Surat; and as a matter of fact there was no danger of a capture. For in the first place a fracas of the kind in the river's mouth would have been an insult to the Mogul Governor, and Child would probably not have dared to make the attempt; and for the rest we have the President's own word that none of his ships would act against the mutineers. What Keigwin and Pettit had not reckoned with, was the weakness of Adderton; had he put a bold face on it there was no reason to fear failure, but the rebel admiral was not worth his salt and was overborne by the mingled threats and cajoleries of the President.

Several letters passed between the two; on 24th March Adderton gave in, and in exchange for a free pardon surrendered the *Returne* to Child. The President was triumphant, and in a letter written a few days later to Hedges, the Agent in Bengal, he expresses his delight.

'Petit's Comb is pretty well cut,' he says, 'his Creditt quite gone; we are now endeavouring to have him delivered us or secured by the Governour. Bowcher is at Court and cannott get thence till he can procure 5,000 Rupees to cleare

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. March 23, 1683/4.
[2] O. C. 5114.

his engagements; they have expended abundance of money at Court, but to no purpose.'[1]

Pettit's comb, however, was not yet cut, and Child's information about Bowcher was incorrect; no doubt the negotiation of a firmaund required both time and money at Aurungzebe's Court, but the business was nevertheless progressing satisfactorily, as Child was soon to discover to his disgust. From Alexander Hamilton[2] we have an account of Bowcher's doings at Court; the old scandal-monger first gives us a circumstantial account of how Child attempted to remove his opponent, by bribing Bowcher's cook to poison him; the cook, it would appear, pocketed the bribe and then told his master all about it. The libel may be of course dismissed at once as ridiculous; but there is nothing incredible in Hamilton's account of Bowcher's final success. The affair had been dragging on for months, and was apparently no nearer its conclusion, when Bowcher's interpreter, a man called Swan 'who often took a large Dose of Arrack', seizing the opportunity of the Emperor's riding out on horseback, broke through the guards, and waving his petition over his head and shouting out aloud in Persian, rushed up to the side of Aurungzebe himself. There was no knowing what such crazy conduct might not have resulted in, but by good luck the Emperor was in the right humour, and gave orders on the spot for a firmaund to be made out; and Bowcher returned in triumph to Surat, with trading rights that put him and his partner in a better position than the Company. He had achieved his object, and no one, we think, will now grudge him his success; thirty years later, when every one of the other characters in our story was either long dead or gone, George Bowcher was still living and prospering at Surat.[3] It is pleasant to know that the old outlaw had other interests besides making money and Child-baiting; for his name is among the benefactors of the Bodleian, and a manuscript copy of the Vendidad, which was his gift, is still one of the treasures of that great library; it was a perusal of this manuscript that

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. March 28, 1684.
[2] I. pp. 198–200. [3] Vide Appendix D.

fired Anquetil du Perron with the determination to go to India,[1] so that we may claim Bowcher as at least the godfather of Zoroastrian research.

When Pettit heard of Adderton's defection, he immediately set to work to lade his own ship, the *Prosperous*, with the provisions needed in Bombay; on 30th March he sailed in her himself to join Keigwin, and was received by 'his villanous Consorts', says Child,[2] with 'great demonstrations of rejoicing at his coming there'; tempered, we must suppose, with annoyance at his news of the loss of the *Returne Royal*.

To make an example against such treachery, Keigwin seized on all Adderton's belongings and transferred them to his treasury, afterwards burning the admiral's house; the only occasion during the mutiny in which any private property was laid hands on by the rebels.

We have seen the mutineers, reorganized and with a full complement of officers, setting to work with industry in preparation for a firmer policy than that of the Company, and we must now follow Keigwin in his efforts to meet the troubles that had so long weighed on Bombay, and see how far his own achievements substantiate the charges of weakness and incompetence that he laid against his predecessors.

The most pressing danger, at the moment of Ward's deposition, was from Sombajee; this prince was now prosecuting a war against the Portuguese with the greatest vigour. In the neighbourhood of Goa he was pressing them hard, and the Portuguese capital itself was in considerable danger, till the approach of Aurungzebe's troops relieved it. In the neighbourhood of Bombay, Sombajee was no less active, and his successes made the English afraid that he might at any moment turn upon them also, as he had so often threatened. He had seized and occupied Caranjah, an island belonging to the Portuguese at the mouth of Bombay harbour, and meditated an even closer approach to the English Fort. In a second letter to the King, Keigwin gives a summary of the position:

[1] *Zend Avesta*, Anquetil du Perron, *Discours préliminaire*.
[2] Surat Factory Records 91. Child to William Gyfford at ffort St. George, April 26, 1684.

'The enemy are 30,000 men bordering upon us, and to our sorrow we are but 150 English and 200 Topasses[1] or blacks . . . [they] intend to take Possession of Patatta,[2] a Small Island 3 miles of us . . . wee keep Cattle there with two ffamilies too looke after them, but now have setled Souldiers to impead the Enemyes landing if we can. The Vice Roy writes from Goa he has Concluded a Peace, but these infidells never keep their words. . . . Provitions are soe Extreame scarce at Goa, the Moguls Army, commanded by Sultan Shaw Allum, Orangzeebe's eldest son, whose Army Consists of 40,000 Horse and 80 Ellephants, marcht from thence about 3 weekes since this waye; whersoever they goe they make a ffamine. I hope your Majesty will Pardon my Presumption', concludes the Captain, 'for Approaching your Majesty with soe mean Language, but it is heartily and Loyally meant.'[3]

The first necessity was to show Sombajee that the new government was resolved to enforce neutrality in Bombay harbour in a more real way than the Company's officers had hitherto done; for Sombajee's grievance against the English was simply that their territory was used as a base for the Siddee to make raids into the Corlahs; and the opportunity soon presented itself.

At the beginning of April[4] Siddee Cossim sailed in, and was passing the Fort as usual without compliment, when to his surprise he was pulled up and obliged to go through the customary forms of civility before being allowed to pass. Arriving at Mazagon, a still further shock awaited him; for he found all the landing-places fortified and manned, and was politely informed that for that season none of his men were to be permitted to take up their quarters on the Island. They would be allowed to land for water, but for no other purpose. Since the days of Pettit's Deputy Governorship Cossim had experienced no such treatment; and puzzled and annoyed he withdrew to his own island of Hendry. Even here he was not left his own master, for Keigwin insisted on his sending

[1] From 'topi', a hat; the word means all wearers of hats, other than Europeans, and includes Eurasians and natives sufficiently Christianized to wear European clothes.

[2] This is Butcher's Island.

[3] O. C. 5071.

[4] Vide Orme's MSS. for the following account.

away the men left there by Child, and as there was no water on Hendry, and Cossim was dependent on Mazagon, he was obliged to comply. A rendezvous at this barren and miserable rock was very different from the pleasant quarters at Mazagon, and before very long Cossim took himself off altogether and joined the Mogul's fleet at Surat.

The relief to Bombay was very great; for the first time for many years the Island was free, throughout the whole season, from these insolent and bloodthirsty ruffians, and the inhabitants, both English and native, could go peaceably about their business without the constant fear of outrages and riots. Nothing had been needed to bring about this desirable reform except the presentation of a determined front, and the adoption of a policy of firmness instead of timidity. Nor did any of the evil results follow, which Child anticipated from a rebuff to the Siddee; no terrible retribution fell on the English in Surat or elsewhere. The bogey was laid at once and for ever, for from this moment we hear no more of Bombay as the head-quarters of the Siddee's winter sports. But if the actual absence of these visitors was a merciful relief, the indirect advantages were no less great. Seeing that the English had so suddenly and effectively dealt with the Siddee, Sombaji's thoughts of attacking the Island, or of taking more effective measures to obtain control of the harbour, were at once dissipated.

To clinch the matter, Keigwin resolved to take the opportunity of making a treaty with the Mahratta chief; and Henry Gary and Thomas Wilkins were deputed as ambassadors to him. Sombaji received them with the greatest attention and warmth, and an alliance was quickly concluded between the two rebellious commanders. In this negotiation Keigwin, as he afterwards boasted, did more for the Company than they had ever been able to do for themselves; for in addition to the general terms of friendship Sombajee was induced to grant the firmaund required by the Madras Presidency, to enable them to trade on reasonable terms in his southern dominions, and at the same time to pay to the Company damages, which they had for long ineffectually claimed, for

the destruction of their property in the factories at Hubely and Rajapore, when these places had been raided by the Mahrattas.[1]

Gary's embassy to Sombajee was at the end of April, 1684, so that within four months Keigwin had set the foreign affairs of Bombay on a satisfactory footing; and under his rule the Island certainly enjoyed more prosperity than had been its lot since the days of Aungier.

There is little doubt that personally the new Governor inspired universal confidence and esteem, and even at this distance of time the scanty records of his doings that we possess mark him out as eminently fitted to rule a small community. Courageous yet modest, firm yet reasonable, his absence of heroics no less than his decision in emergencies form a pleasant contrast with the fuss and incompetence of the Company's representatives at this period; and the success with which he met and overcame all the difficulties in which Bombay was struggling is in itself a sufficient answer to the eulogists of John Child, whose failure might otherwise have been thought inevitable.

About the same time as Keigwin's second letter to Charles II, the mutineers also addressed the Company again[2] in a letter from which we extract the following:

'Children that have Crept under your Table now appear above board, and have outreckoned you all in Arithmetick from Numeration to Multiplication only the Rule of Proportion is wanting to make them Compleat Artists. They have outgrowne the Stature of men, though they Retain a Childish name, and overtop you all that you seeme but Pigmies, unless you borrow some additionall height from them, that you may appeare to be theire Creatures. . . . Your honours' Concernes and Affaires, as allso your Servants, shall be more securely and safely protected by his Majesties than ever they could be by your honours' government. though wee Cannott be so exact to keepe a Mercantile account, yett your honours shall have a faithfull and true accompt for which we hope to be Continued as formerly in your favour and Service, if it is his Majesty's pleasure to Reinstate your honours in the government.'

[1] A copy of this treaty is among Orme's MSS.

[2] O.C. 5074.

The question of accounts was indeed a crucial one. Bastions cannot be built for nothing; even the fortification of landing-places costs money; and John Child, when he heard of Keigwin's first measures, had at once prophesied that early bankruptcy awaited the new government. The 60,000 rupees from the *Returne*, which the rebels had in reserve, would not last them long, according to the President, who professed to be afraid that they would then sell the Island to Sombaji or the Siddee.[1]

As it turned out, however, Keigwin's finances must be held to have been almost as successful as his foreign policy; for at the end of his year of power he was able to hand over to the Company the whole of the 60,000 rupees that he had seized, untouched; having thus proved that the revenues of Bombay by themselves could be made to cover all the expenses necessary to the more generous and forward policy which he pursued.

In his letter to the King[2], Keigwin says that the revenues of the Island were at that time 95,800 Xs., while the President's desperate struggle for economy had succeeded in reducing the charges to 68,514 Xs.; so that Bombay was now repaying at the rate of some 27,000 Xs. a year the money that had previously been spent on it by the Company. It was, of course, no part of Keigwin's policy to provide a surplus at the expense of the security of the Island, and he doubtless spent the entire revenue. We hear also of an additional tax put on by the rebel government, a so-called Militia Tax, which was apparently considered reasonable by the inhabitants, to whom the blessings of the new régime were worth a great deal; it brought in 3,000 Xs., and was kept on after the mutiny by the Company.[3]

Keigwin then by leaving his reserve of 60,000 Rs. untouched, proved that a satisfactory government could be carried on, prestige adequately maintained, the troops properly paid, and the Island kept in a state of security from outside threats, out

[1] Surat Factory Records, 91. Child to the Court, February 4, 1683/4.
[2] O. C. 5071.
[3] Surat Factory Records, 92. Surat to Bombay, March 14, 1684/5.

of the actual revenues of Bombay, without the Island being a charge upon the Company.

The arrival of John Pettit in Bombay had strengthened Keigwin where he was most in need, that is on his Council. How much of the credit for the mutineers' successful negotiations with Siddee Cossim and Sombajee may be due to Pettit, it is now impossible to say; but it is to be remarked that he was in Bombay throughout these dealings, and though he avoided any official connexion with the mutiny, he certainly took a leading place in Keigwin's inner Council; and the presence and advice of an ex-Deputy Governor of his experience and ability must have been invaluable, when we consider that the new government was almost entirely composed of non-commissioned officers.

One minor result of Pettit's arrival was felt by Captain Niccolls; the ex-judge had taken no official part in the rebellion, but was apparently on good terms with its promoters until Pettit came. Pettit, who had a very low opinion of Niccolls, and had been the cause of his removal from the bench, now apparently exerted his influence again, and Niccolls found himself treated coldly and with disrespect by the mutineers. In disgust he decided to make approaches to the two councillors, Newman and Vergis, who had been stationed at Versova to warn off approaching ships, and wrote letters to them to arrange a meeting.

John Child, in his reply to the councillor's report, advised caution:

'Wee would not have you forward to give creditt to any that may invite you to meet them, but allways be secure in the Portuguese dominions, and trust not to neare the Seaside least any that may pretend to be ffriends deceive you. Capt[a] Niccolls wee think hath more witt than to put any such thing on you, or to side with the Rebells, which he knows will be his ruine in the end, and the undoing his wife and Children; wee dare trust him that he will doe no harme, but would have you be cautious of all; . . . poor Mr. Petit had better continued an Interloper, although he could not by that expect to goe one degree beyond a beggar; he is indebted at Surat 100,000 Rupees as report speakes, and now may have forfeited his life;

but wee reckon he fancies to be very cunning, by getting Niccolls banished the Island, who might have hindered him in his designes, having witt enough to deal with him; and now the Scott may not have the leading by the nose that very fooll and rebellious villian Keigwin, but Petit will strike in and try if he can gett some of the Hon[ble] Comp[a's] money with them, and not unlikely put the fooll Keigwin upon doing more mischiefe. . . . Capt. Aderton hath had mercy from us, but it seems the rebells are resolved he shall not goe wholly unpunished . . . his wife wee heare is turned off the Island; we would have you accomodate her . . . and use her with kindnesse, because not only that her husband appeares A true convert, but shee was all along loyall and very much against the Rebells.'[1]

About the end of April, Vergis died and was replaced at Versova by John Vaux, who had recently arrived from home. This was the same Vaux who was afterwards so notorious as Deputy Governor of Bombay, and whose tomb was for long a landmark at the river's mouth at Surat; he had been Josia Child's book-keeper in England, and owed his advancement to that autocrat's patronage.[2]

Vaux and Newman, besides warning ships, were expected to disseminate literature and spread rumours on Bombay, and in a characteristic letter the President sent them his suggestions:[3]

'Wee like of your having sent soe many of the Declarations to the Island, but wee suppose they were all in Portuguese because of the persons you mention you sent them to; pray endeavour to send the English ones to the Island, dispersed to severall, as Capt. Gary, Mr. Jn[o] Pettit, Mr. Thos. Pettit, Lieut. ffletcher, Ensign Willkins, etc. What of Souldiers leaves the Island, use kindly and persuade to returne, laying to them how it may be the losse of the Island if they leave it now, and that it would become them better to redeeme their credits and be revenged on those that have deceived them and brought them into rebellion, by agreeing together and seize on Keigwin, etc. that they may come to just punishment. . . . Wee would have you send over papers to be dispersed all over the Island unsigned, and in as strainge writing as you can, counterfeiting that your hands may not be knowne in them; write as you may have rumors that may take some impression on the Soul-

[1] Surat Factory Records, 91. April 28, 1684. [2] Hamilton, p. 234.
[3] Surat Factory Records, 91. May 22, 1684.

diers, and make them Jealous and watchfull that Keigwin etc. escape not. the forme of a paper is enclosed that is wrote from A rumour that wee have that Petit's Ship *Prosperous* is to be lengthened 12 foot; these papers may be sent over in A Cannow in the night, and scatter'd up and downe; and if there be any other way that you may think of to make the Souldiers disaffected to Keigwin, etc. and watchfull over them, put in execution. In another paper write that Keigwin is a Roman Catholick and designs to run away with them, or what else you may think will take effect.'

Later on we find:[1]

'Wee have news the Rebells have consented that 5000 of Sombagee's men should be on the Island . . . and its likewise reported that Petit designes to gett into the Government by poisoning Keigwin and some others, and hath promised the Siddee that he shall have it.'

The President's feelings had evidently got the better of his intellect; his sober reason could never have accepted these extraordinary stories, nor hoped that the publication of such transparent nonsense could ever do any good to his cause. He was in fact helpless until next cold weather should bring out more Europe shipping, and must have realized it very well.

In the middle of July came the *East India Merchant*, one of the Company's vessels; she came from the Maldives, where her commander, Captain Roger Davies, had taken on board some troops sent out by the Company to fill vacancies in the Bombay garrison. When she came to anchor in the harbour, Vaux rowed off to her under cover of darkness and warned the captain of his danger, recommending him to get out of gunshot from the Fort as quickly as possible. But Davies did no such thing; on the contrary, in the morning he went ashore and paid his respects to the rebels, after which he delivered to Keigwin the packets he had on board for the Deputy Governor of Bombay; and to complete the enormity, all the fifty soldiers, with their officer Lieut. Pitts at their head, went ashore and took the oath of allegiance to Keigwin. More curious still perhaps is the fact that Vaux himself joined this general fraternization; he was 'invited ashoare', where he

[1] Surat Factory Records, 91. Child to Vaux and Newman, July 19.

remained 'a prisoner at large' according to his own account[1], 'with friendly entertainment' according to Keigwin's.[2] Why he did not clear off in his boat before daylight remains a mystery; but we may suspect that the quarters at Versova were by no means luxurious, and that Vaux was not displeased to accept the mutineers' hospitality without having to commit himself to their party.

Captain Davies's behaviour was a shock to the President; for, apart from the reinforcement of the garrison, there was a considerable sum of money on the *East India Merchant*, which it was very desirable to save from the rebels. He therefore sent two of his council, Gladman and Hornigold, to Versova to make special efforts to induce Davies to bring his ship away; and these two gentlemen, after arriving on 9th August, began a correspondence with this object. Davies's behaviour continued to be most unaccountable; for though he professed to be still loyal to the Company, he could not be induced to leave Bombay. Persuasion gave place to Protests, but still met with nothing but excuses and evasions; and the President came to the conclusion that Davies must have sold 'liquors, &c.' on the Island, and 'till he could gett his money in, deferred his coming away'.[3]

Finally on 19th August he came out, after five weeks' stay on shore; he brought with him John Vaux, and his four chests of treasure intact, with a note from Keigwin saying he had taken only the letters and troops intended for Bombay, and sent on the Surat letters with all the Company's property on board, including the money.

Gladman and Hornigold now got on board the *East India Merchant* and lay off Bombay, out of gunshot, deciding to keep Davies's vessel on sentry duty, instead of remaining at Versova; and here for the present we will leave them.

[1] O. C. 5026. [2] O. C. 5196.
[3] Surat Factory Records, 91. September 3, 1684.

CHAPTER VIII

JOSIA CHILD AND THE INTERLOPERS IN ENGLAND, 1682–4

THE defeat of Papillon at the end of 1681, and the extermination of his party in the India House, placed Josia Child in a position to direct the affairs of the Company exactly as though it were his private business, a position which he held until his death in 1699. But the Free Trade party, or Interlopers as they were now called, though driven from Leadenhall Street, were still active and dangerous outside; and for the next few years Josia was occupied in following up his advantage, and in converting Papillon's defeat into a rout.

In 1682 the Interloping interest captured the Levant Company,[1] a monopoly that was of earlier date than the East India Company, and its rival in importance in the eyes of the nation; the Levant Company now petitioned the King, claiming the right under its old charters to the trade in the Persian Gulf and Arabia, and demanding permission to send its ships to these places round the Cape of Good Hope. This would have been, as it was intended to be, a serious blow to the East India Company's monopoly, and Josia accordingly bestirred himself; he was not likely to be defeated on his own ground, at Court, and had no difficulty in inducing the King to dismiss the petition.[2] The Interlopers, seeing they had no chance at St. James's against a rival who 'scattered the guineas' to such good purpose, now turned their attention to arousing the public feeling against the Company; and there began a war of pamphlets and propaganda, which, as we have seen,[3] reached as far as India itself.

[1] Bruce, i. 475–6. There were cases of Interlopers flying the flag of the Levant Company (Causton and Keane, *The Early Chartered Companies*, p. 82).

[2] Bruce, ibid.

[3] Supra Ch. VI, p. 90.

It must not be supposed that the question at issue between Child and Papillon was Free Trade in the modern sense of the word. Indeed in that matter the two rivals were entirely at one, and, though the doctrines of Adam Smith were as yet undreamed of, they had both for many years been champions of freedom of exchange. The chief charges against the East India Company had for long been their exporting of bullion, and their importing of silks and calicoes which competed with English manufactures; and the Protectionists of the day wanted to prohibit the trade with India altogether as damaging to English production. In his pamphlets against these views Josia made important contributions[1] to the then poorly exploited science of economics, and it is entertaining to find this staunch old monopolist even claimed as a pioneer of the eighteenth-century Free Trade movement.[2]

Nor did Papillon differ from him on the necessity of having a monopolist company to deal with the East India trade; no one was a stouter defender of the principle by which the chartered companies were given complete control, each of its own field;[3] and he was as far from wanting to allow indiscriminate separate trade as was Josia. Papillon, however, was of opinion that the India trade should nevertheless be open to the nation, and his view was that the purchase of the Company's stock should be practically unrestricted; so that any merchant, desiring to share in the profits of the trade with India, could do so by investing in the Company's Joint Stock, without giving rise to any of the inconveniences and dangers connected with the independent ventures of separate Interlopers.[4] Josia, on the contrary, was for the strictest monopoly in the old sense of the word, that is, for keeping the whole trade in the hands of himself and a few of his colleagues and friends.

Finding it impossible to break the tie between Josia and the

[1] Vide his pamphlets *The New Discourse of Trade* and *Brief Observations concerning Trade and the Interest of Money*, and also a well-known pamphlet under the pseudonym 'Philopatris'.

[2] *Enc. Britt.* under heading 'Sir Josiah Child'.

[3] Vide Papillon's pamphlet *The East India Trade the most profitable Trade for the Nation*, 1680.

[4] *Memoir of Thomas Papillon of London, Merchant*, by A. F. W. Papillon, p. 83.

King, Papillon's party were now driven to take an anti-Royalist line, and deny that the King's prerogative could be stretched so far as to claim a monopoly of foreign trade; he might indeed create an East India Company, but he could not restrain the rest of his subjects from trading wherever they pleased; so that the Company's monopoly, being founded solely on Royal Charters, and unsupported by Act of Parliament, was not legally effective.

Papillon's strategy, in thus appealing to the people and to Parliament against an exercise of the Royal prerogative, was undoubtedly that most likely to end in the long run, as in fact it did, in the discomfiture of the Company; but for the present it was extremely dangerous. Josia redoubled his efforts; the gold flew; but there was little need to scatter more guineas, for the wheels at Court revolved of their own accord to meet an attack on prerogative. Since the legality of the monopoly was disputed, it should be tried before the new Lord Chief Justice; and that dreadful engine Judge Jeffreys was brought out and set in motion.

As a test case, one Thomas Sandys, an Interloper, was prosecuted; the case came on in the Trinity term of 1683[1] and for nearly two years was argued at length by a galaxy of all the most brilliant lawyers of the day. 'A case of great great weight and consequence,' remarked Lord Jeffreys,[2] and Sandys' counsel, he knew, would not object to the protracted arguments and continued adjournments; 'but whether your client will or no,' he went on with his usual humour, 'I cannot well tell, nor do not much care.'

But though it was not till 1685 that the Chief Justice finally proclaimed that 'the Interlopers against the King's prerogative in this particular' were to be classed with 'the horrid conspirators against the King's life in this last hellish conspiracy',[3] the delay was but a part of the advertisement of the case; the longer and more important the trial, the more

[1] *State Trials*, vol. vii, p. 555. Hunter says Michaelmas Term, but vide note on p. viii of *The Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1683*, edited by Arthur T. Pringle. Madras Government Press, 1894.

[2] Quoted by Hunter, ii. 292.

[3] Ibid., p. 293. The reference is to the Rye House Plot.

effective would be the judgement in propping up the prerogative. The action against the leaders of the obnoxious party was more prompt; one of them, Sir Samuel Barnardiston,[1] was found by Jeffreys to be of a 'factious, seditious and disaffected temper', and was thrown into prison accordingly. This was in February 1684, and next November Papillon himself was the victim; he was condemned in damages for £10,000, and was obliged to mortgage his estates and fly to Utrecht.[2]

Josia's triumph was complete, and it remained only to crush out of existence the individual Interlopers who might still venture to sail to the East; and the better to accomplish this, the King was persuaded to authorize the Company to set up Admiralty Courts in India, to enable them to seize and condemn Free Traders' vessels on the spot. In April 1684, a Dr. John St. John was appointed Judge, with instructions that his Court was to sit in Bombay,[3] and it was hoped that with this additional authority and prestige, the President would be able to put a complete stop to interloping in that part of India.

It was while he was dealing thus with his opponents in England that a decision took shape in Josia's mind, which was destined to mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the British in India; this was no less than a conversion to the policy of Gerald Aungier, the growth of a conviction that, in the unsettled state of affairs in India and the South Seas, it was impossible to carry on trade in security, unless we were in a position to protect ourselves from robbery or attack.

From its earliest days the Company had modelled its policy on the advice of Sir Thomas Roe, which was to assume the posture of simple unarmed merchants, avoiding alike all

[1] Sir Samuel Barnardiston, son of the famous patriot Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, is said to have been the origin of the term Roundhead. His handsome appearance, with his hair worn short in the new fashion, attracted the Queen's attention, and she remarked upon his fine round head. (Vide an article on the Barnardiston family in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Archaeological Society*, vol. iv.)

[2] *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon* and Howell's *State Trials*. For a good account of these events vide Hunter, ii. 285–94.

[3] Letter Book 7, April 7, 1684. The charter was granted August 9, 1683.

dreams of conquest and all interposition in the politics of the native powers; 'without controversy', said Sir Thomas, 'it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India.'[1]

The advice was excellent for such places as were under the full control of the Mogul power; ideas of conquest would have been of course ridiculous, and garrisons and defences were purposeless if the Emperor's peace were firmly kept. The whole question in fact was one of police; where there was no disorder there was no occasion for a peaceful trader to go armed. Unfortunately not the whole of India was thus secure; the Carnatic, for example, was never brought within the limits of Mogul control, and as time went on and the rise of Sivaji heralded the break-up of that great empire, the pale of the Mogul peace became more and more contracted. Thus it was that Andrew Cogan and Francis Day in 1639 had found it necessary to build Fort St. George at Madras, and thus too, when thirty years later the Mahrattas threatened to cut off the west coast from Aurungzebe's rule, we have seen Aungier turning to Bombay and devoting his best energies to strengthening and developing the fortified island.

All this was very well recognized by those on the spot; but at home, among the Court of Committees, the Roe doctrine continued to be held, and to be applied without discrimination to all the Company's factories. For some time indeed the Court allowed its hand to be occasionally forced by the more enterprising of its servants in India; thus while recording its disapproval of Francis Day, it yet decided to retain Fort St. George since it was actually built; and again Aungier's doings at Bombay were not absolutely condemned in his lifetime, though they raised much grumbling in Leadenhall Street. With Josia Child's appearance all this was changed, and we find the Company's concerns in the East being governed direct from England; instead of a Court following with some doubt and misgiving the lead of their President in India, which we may say has always been the Company's normal method of conducting its affairs,

[1] Vide Foster's *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.*

we see a dummy President, whose every movement can be traced directly to the autocrat in Leadenhall Street.

The rule of Josia presents the earliest and most signal example of the evil results that are always to be feared when the affairs of our countrymen in India, and particularly their relations with the natives of the country, are guided too autocratically from England; and the lack of intimate local knowledge, which has ever been the main cause of danger, was never more conspicuous among the directors of the Company's affairs than at this time.

The first result when, after Aungier's death, Josia became the sole inspiration of the Company's policy, was, as we have seen, the rigorous reversion to the Roe doctrine, and the practical disarmament of Bombay at the moment when its defences were most necessary.

But abruptly Josia's views turned in the opposite direction. The occasion of his conversion seems to have been the loss of Bantam,[1] where the English were expelled from their factory in 1682, as the result of a Dutch intrigue with the native powers;[2] but doubtless the troubles in Bengal and Persia, as well as a tardy realization of the menacing position on the West Coast, contributed to the change.

Taken as a modification of the Roe doctrine, the new view was excellent; the sane policy was clearly to avoid wars either of conquest or retribution, but to provide fortified settlements where the Company could shelter its servants and property during the periodical storms that must be expected to burst in those times of growing anarchy.

Moderation, however, was never a part of Josia's equipment; and now, with more than a convert's zeal, he utterly discarded his old principles, and in the course of a year or two plunged into his notorious war with Aurungzebe. Josia Child, if over enthusiastic, was a very shrewd man of business, and far above the average in intelligence and competence; but it is safe to say that if the Company's policy had been

[1] In Java.

[2] There are several documents bearing on this among the State Papers in the Record Office.

guided from Surat instead of London, not even the stupidest and most incompetent President would have embarked either on the course of crazy economy that gave Bombay to Keigwin, or on the still madder acts that nearly gave it to Aurungzebe.

The new policy was taken up in 1683 with Josia's usual enthusiasm and thoroughness, and an extraordinary alteration appears in the drift of the Court's orders and letters to their servants in India. They are now not only 'resolved to recover Bantam'[1] and fortify it strongly, but they are for building a fort at Acheen,[2] and establishing a fortified settlement 'somewhere within the Straits of Sunda'.[3] Now too for the first time we find the Court suddenly in favour of acquiring or building a fort in Bengal, somewhere on the Hooghly,[4] a scheme that ultimately resulted in the foundation of Calcutta, although Josia's actual proposal was to seize Chittagong.

In his instructions to the President of Surat, the *volte-face* is particularly striking. 'We are imbarquing', runs a letter dated August 15, 1683, 'into a far greater charge not only for the security but for the grandeur' of Bombay; and again, 'We are now much sett upon the improvement of that our Island of Bombay, and do esteem it a place of more consequence then we have formerly done.'[5] It is accordingly to be put and kept 'in a strong Posture of defence', and Josia goes into the details of the new measures with as much gusto as he had previously shown in his orders for retrenching the very same items.

Work was to be started once more on the long-neglected bastion and trench; the fortifications were to be put in order, and more guns mounted. The militia was to be properly drilled, at least 'one day in every two months', and taught to 'handle their Arms, their faceings, wheeling, marching, and counter-marching, the first ranks to present, draw Their trickers together at the beat of the Drum, and fall off into the Reer

[1] Letter Book 7, September 5, 1683. To Surat.
[2] Ibid., October 19, 1683. To Madras.
[3] Ibid., November 16, 1683.
[4] Ibid., December 21, 1683. To Bengal.
[5] Ibid., November 16, 1683. To Bombay.

for the second Ranks to advance, as is often used with Learners in our Artillary Ground'; particular orders too were given to be more generous with the powder, especially in drilling, 'least in time of Action they should start at the noise or the recoile of their Arms'. Best of all it was decided to increase the regular English garrison from two to three companies, and a company of foot was sent out for the purpose;[1] while at the same time John Child was directed to raise two companies of sepoys, or Rashpoots, as they were called.[2]

An effort was to be made to meet these new expenses from the Bombay revenues, and the point was continually insisted on, as being one in which the Dutch showed great wisdom, that that nation made it their business to raise a revenue from all their possessions, large enough to meet the requirements of defence. The Court advised that even greater encouragement should be given to settlers, to increase the population and revenues of the Island; and suggested certain fresh taxes, such as a duty on shops, which might be imposed.[3]

The importance of cultivating a revenue, to meet the expenses of fortification, was continually kept before its servants by the Court, as will be seen from the two following extracts from letters dated August 1685 and December 1687 respectively. The extracts serve also to show the progressive stages of Josia's Imperialism, as we may perhaps term it.

'It is our Ambition for the honor of Our King and Country and the good of Posterity, as wel as of this Company, to make the English Nation as formidable as the Dutch, or any other Europe Nation, are or ever were in India; but that cannot be done, only by the form and with the methode of trading Merchants, without the politicall Skill of making all fortifyed places repay their full charge and expenses.'[4]

[1] Letter Book 7, August 15, 1683. To Bombay.
[2] Bruce, ii. 498. These sepoys were not employed, as John Child explained that they would have to be recruited from men who were under the influence either of the Mogul or of Sombaji; and so might prove a danger to Bombay. Surat Factory Records, September 26, 1684 (wrongly dated November 29).
[3] Letter Book 7, August 15, 1683. To Bombay.
[4] Ibid., August 26, 1685. To Madras.

And later:

'That which We promise ourselves in a most especiall manner from our now President and Council is, That they will establish Such a Politie of civill and military power, and create and secure Such a large Revenue to maintaine both at that place, as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come.'[1]

It was a fatal stroke of irony that the letters carrying the first set of orders based on the new policy, which are dated August 1683, should have arrived in India within a few days after the outbreak of the rebellion, just too late to save Bombay from the results of the Company's previous misjudgement; but in reality there was every cause for gratitude that the Island had fallen into the hands of Keigwin, instead of into those of the Siddee or the Mahrattas, a fate to which it was rapidly drifting; and it is even possible that had not Keigwin anticipated the Company, and forcibly introduced their new policy without waiting for orders, Josia's conversion might have come too late and found Bombay lost, not only to the Company but to the nation. As it was, John Child, who swallowed these orders for the 'security and grandeur' of the Island with the same unquestioning zeal as he had shown in carrying out the previous contrary instructions, could only regret the impossibility of doing anything but postpone the reforms until Bombay should be recovered.

In pursuance of this policy, the Court also decided to send out a force to retake Bantam, and it was determined to use the occasion for making a demonstration against Persia.

The Company had obtained in 1622 the right to a half of the customs of the port of Gombroon,[2] in return for their assistance to Shah Abbas in the capture of Ormuz from the Portuguese;[3] but for a long time had not only experienced the greatest difficulty in getting the payment of these dues, but had met with repeated and growing obstructions in their trade from the Persian government officials. It was now determined to adopt the advice of its successive agents in

[1] Letter Book 8, December 12, 1687.
[2] Bunder Abbas. [3] Bruce, i. 237.

Persia, and make a show of force in the hopes of improving the situation.

For these purposes Sir Thomas Grantham was sent out, and on board his ship, the *Charles II*, was embarked the company of foot-soldiers to be left in Bombay after the rest of his work was finished. He was commissioned to go first to Java, after which he was to sail to Persia, and finally to Bombay;[1] and his instructions were completed by orders to capture any of the Interlopers' ships and cargoes that he could lay hands on, and make them over to Dr. St. John's new Admiralty Court for legal confiscation.[2]

Grantham's personality was so large a factor in the conclusion of Keigwin's rebellion that, before meeting him in the East, the reader should know something of his past record, to be able to form some idea of the kind of man who was now to make his entry on the stage of Western India.

The son[3] of a Royalist squire killed in the siege of Oxford, we first hear of Thomas Grantham in 1673 as commissioned by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to convoy home a fleet of twenty-three merchantmen during the war with Holland. Returning in 1676 to Virginia, he found the colony in open rebellion, and the Governor and Council deposed and fled. Grantham, we hear, stepped in, and 'by means of a Personal Acquaintance formerly between him and some of the Principall officers among the Rebells' he 'so successfully transacted matters as partly by Persuasion and partly by Compulsion and Stratagem to reduce that Colony to their just Allegiance'. For this service he received 'a Noble Donative' from Charles II.

Two years later, in October 1678, he was sailing in his ship the *Concord* once more to Virginia, when he was attacked by 'Canary, a Spanish Renegado and Admirall of the King of Argiers, in a New Frigot of 48 guns, called the *Rose*, carrying upwards of 600 men'. The *Concord*, which only carried

[1] Bruce, ii. 500–1. [2] Ibid., p. 506.

[3] The following particulars are from a grant of arms made to Sir Thomas and quoted by Yule (Hedges, ii. 140). They are unfortunately not quite to be relied on, as that historian points out.

22 guns and 80 men, defended herself with great courage for 'Two or Three Hours Sharp Dispute', during which Grantham was

'thrice boarded by the Barbarians who, Enraged because they could not get the Mastery, Forced him on the Quarter, and the Mizenyard being Shot down, fired the Sail, which burnt very vehemently, and immediately set all the after part of the ship on Fire; yet he still continued the Fight, keeping the Round house and Cuddy till obliged by the Heat to Retire (all that accompanied him being either Killed or Wounded); and then getting down into the Great Cabbin and Steerage, sallied out with those who were there, resolving rather to perish in the flames than yield. But in the Interim the Turks' Foresail, hanging in the Brails over the *Concord's* Pope, and taking Fire, he would fain have got off, which the said Sir Thomas Grantham endeavour'd to prevent by feching down with small shot as many as ran up to cut him clear; until his sails, masts, shrouds and yards were all in a Blaze, when cutting the Enemy loose, presently their Mast to the Deck went by the board, with many men on its Top and his Bloody Flag.'

Both sides now set to work and extinguished their fires, when the Renegado, having had his stomach full of fighting, stood away and left Sir Thomas to pursue his course.

Grantham's behaviour, we hear, 'gained him the highest Reputation and Applause', besides a 'Gold Chain and Medal of great Value' from the King. He was at this time building a ship of his own, 'which Ship being built accordingly, Burthen 816 Tun, carrying 64 guns and 300 men, the Said King and his Royall Highness the Duke of York, Lord High Admirall, attended by divers of the Nobility, did him the Honor to be present at the Launching thereof, when his Majesty named her the *Charles the Second*; and as a further acknowledgment of the Said Sir Thomas Grantham's eminent deserts Knighted him (on board the said Ship) at Deptford, 8th Feby. 1682/3.'

Such was the ship and her captain, who was now commissioned by the Company, and sailed at the end of 1683 from England. Seven months later, in August 1684, the Court received news of the loss of Bombay, Keigwin's letter to the King arriving at about the same time.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to signify to the Court

his readiness to comply with whatever steps they should think necessary to take, and a Committee of Secrecy was accordingly formed, consisting of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir Josia Child, and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, to draw up a report for presentation to the King.[1]

From these gentlemen we learn that the rebellion was premeditated and inexcusable; that the soldiers had no just cause for complaint, but on the contrary 'lived at great ease and in too much voluptuousness'; and that the true cause of the mutiny was 'the suggestion of Interlopers to the Conspirators, and particularly correspondence with John Pettit and George Bowcher, our late servants, that have made themselves Chiefs of all Interlopers'.

They also inform the King that in their opinion John Thorburn, 'a scotch Tayler, that went out a Common Soldier,' was the 'Principal Engineer and Contriver', and that next in guilt come Keigwin, Fletcher, and Adderton. They point out that in several recent affairs of a similar nature no effective punishment had been inflicted on the mutineers, by which treason had got to be no longer regarded so seriously as was necessary; and finally humbly advise his Majesty that the four ringleaders mentioned should be excepted from pardon, that the Interlopers should be finally put down, and that their chief agents should be ordered home by privy seal, to be dealt with in England as might then seem proper.

It was on these lines that steps were taken for the recovery of Bombay. John Child received the Royal Commission to use what force was necessary, and was addressed as 'Captain Generall of all our forces by sea and land in the North of India'; and he was henceforth always addressed and referred to by the title of 'General'.

At the same time Charles sent orders under his sign-manual to Keigwin to deliver up the Island, and declared that, if this were complied with within twenty-four hours, the whole

[1] Court Book 34, August 6, 1684. Their report and the following proceedings are all to be found in Letter Book 7, August 1684.

garrison should be pardoned except the four ringleaders. For these, dead or alive, rewards were offered of 4,000 rupees each for Keigwin and Thorburn, and 2,000 Rs. for Fletcher and Adderton; and it was provided that if the soldiers in Bombay seized their ringleaders and delivered them up, with the Fort, an additional sum of 8,000 rupees should be distributed among them, as well as the pardon.

To support these orders, His Majesty ordered H.M.S. *Phoenix*, Captain John Tyrell, to proceed to Bombay, whose force was to be afterwards used in 'surprising' Interlopers. The King's commission ordered Tyrell to seize all such ships and take them to Bombay for trial by the new Court of Admiralty; but specially impressed on him that he must use the utmost circumspection to avoid violence in doing so.

Finally, writs were issued under the privy seal summoning Pettit and Bowcher to return to England at once.

In addition to these royal commands, the Court sent supplementary instructions to General Child, in which they dwelt strongly on the importance of bringing the four ringleaders to trial, and executing them under martial law in Bombay. If, on the arrival of the King's orders, the mutineers should offer to surrender on a general pardon, but threaten desperate courses if their four leaders were not included, the General was to use his discretion; but the Court urged that at least one of them should suffer the extreme punishment, if it could be insisted on without 'extraordinary hazard'. If, on the other hand, Bombay had been already surrendered on promise of a general pardon, before the arrival of the King's orders, the compact would have to be allowed to stand.

With these orders went instructions to John Child that he was henceforth to reside in Bombay, which was now to be considered the head-quarters of the English in Western India instead of Surat.

Such were the measures taken by the Company to recover their lost Island; and we must now return to follow the course of events in India, where much water had to flow under the bridges before the arrival of Captain Tyrell.

CHAPTER IX

COMMERCE, INTERLOPERS, AND PIRATES, 1684

WHILE Bombay was in the hands of the rebels, the ordinary routine of work went on as usual at Surat and the subordinate factories; and we may occupy the interval, till the arrival of Sir Thomas Grantham, in giving some disconnected extracts from the correspondence of this period which, even if they have no bearing on the Bombay rebellion, may yet be welcome as throwing light on the conditions of our predecessors' work, and helping to fill out a little the rather bare outline that serves us at present for a picture of their times.

To this year may be traced what we believe to be the first use of a screw-press for packing cotton in India; in April, 1684, the President writes home:[1]

'What (cotton) goes by these Ships was put into the new presse, that brings two bales clear into the bulk of one, which wee humbly advise your Honours of; . . . wee meene the presse up to Surat,[2] and there shall sett it up in a convenient place, and take our opportunities to buy up Cotton at the cheapest and best time, and be continually a-packing it up.'

On the same day[3] we find a letter from Child to St. Helena, accompanying a packet of cotton seed, and containing 'Direccons' when and how to sow it, with this pleasant conclusion: 'then rake the ground that the Seed may be well covered, and afterwards trust to God's blessing on your endeavours.'

10th April, 1684. To the Court.[4]
'One or two large English horses would be very acceptable here, those from Persia being not soe large as in England, and it is in great measure the largenesse of a horse that makes him acceptable in these parts.'

[1] O. C. 5143. [2] It was then at Swally.
[3] Surat Factory Records 91. April 26, 1684.
[4] Ibid., April 10, 1684.

Anderson tells us[1] that several attempts were made about this time to breed English horses in Western India, but that they were unsuccessful; and that most of those imported died on the voyage.

There are frequent references to curious birds and beasts being sent home, chiefly for the King. In the British Museum there is still a description of the 'strange and wonderful Elephant' sent home in 1675, but in the time of which we are now writing wild fowl seem to have been most in demand, and many different kinds of these were sent home to the King, probably to add to the attractions of St. James's Park, which was one of Charles's hobbies. It was for another, and less blameless, hobby of the King, the Duchess of Portsmouth, that three black dwarfs were sent home; these came from Carwarr, and it was from here too that the Company got the slaves with which it recruited the plantations of St. Helena.

'Wee must now desire you', writes Child[2] to Robert Harbin, chief at Carwarr, 'not to be only mindfull of the dwarfes wee formerly desired, but to buy up 60 blacks of lusty bodies fitt for work, none less than 16 yeares of age, and not to exceed 20, most if not all males; wee hope the famine and troubles will make it easie for you to effect, and that you may procure them cheap, which wee recommend to you.'

In the same letter to Carwarr the President tells Harbin to 'make sale of all Europe goods with you, convert all into money altho the Proffitt be little, for wee shall be able to furnish you with more such goods in September next wee hope; and its an old Proverb, but very true, quick returnes and light gaines makes heavy purses, whereas goods lying on hand is uncomfortable, dull, Melancholy, without life; therefore pray use all ways to put off your Broad Cloth etc. to the most advantage.'

Broad cloth was the chief export from England.

Harbin seems to have had some trouble with his Broker, and wanted to get rid of him; on which Child replied:[3]

[1] *English in Western India*, p. 152.
[2] Surat Factory Records 91. April 16, 1684.
[3] Ibid., August 22, 1684.

'Wee have indeed had in your letters that Mr. Goring[1] was poisoned by the latter (Shamdas), but not soe cleared to us, as to condemne him: altho wee may have put a value on what you write, yett in things of such a nature and the striking at the reputation of men, wee must be cautious as becomes us, and hasty Judgment is not good . . . only thus much wee know, you are not very skill'd in the Country languages, and without a Broker the businesse cannott goe well, and for those of that Country they are deceitfull needy shuffling fellows, not to be trusted . . . we could wish Shamdas had been better looked after.'

This letter ends with a rebuke to Harbin, who had excused himself for not having kept his accounts in order on the grounds that he was short of stationery:

'If you had not book paper, your bookes are not soe large, but the paper you write your letters on would have served turne; and wee should have been better satisfied to have had them on that than to have wanted them. Wee have sent you by these peons 3 quires large paper, and pray lett us not faile of your Bookes, but have them as soon as possible.'

All the stationery used by the Company's servants in India was sent out from home, and the following extract from one of John Child's letters to the Court will remind us of the small beginnings of our Indian Empire.

'The paper your Honours sent us this yeare proves very bad, appearing old decayed stuffe that will not beare Inke; wee humbly desire your Honours will give order wee have better paper for the future, and please to direct that wee have noe more Inke sent us, nor Compasses, and at the most but six penknives a yeare, and a dozen of black lead pencills, with 6 Inke-glasses.'[2]

The consignment from England of a dozen black-lead pencils and six penknives for the Bombay Presidency strikes the imagination more than many pages of fine writing.

From several passages we can gather what our countrymen thought of the other Europeans in India at this time. The Portuguese, the first comers, are always spoken of as a

[1] Mr. Goring, 'a son of my Lord Goring in England,' had come out to India 'incognito', as Hamilton tells us, with a Mr. Lembourg 'of the House of Lembourg in Germany' on a shooting expedition.

[2] O. C. 5270, November 29, 1684.

declining power, wanting in courage, initiative, and sense, but still buoyed up by the old arrogance and pride of their ancestors. At the moment they were in grave danger of being 'swallowed up' by the Mahrattas, a situation into which their 'insolencies, pride, and rashness' had led them, and from which they lacked the qualities to save themselves.

Of the French we hear very little, and it is clear that as yet they were of little account in the East. Our real rivals were the Dutch; not only were they our rivals, indeed, but they bade fair to turn us out of the trade altogether, as they had actually done in the Spice Islands.

'Wee wrote your Hon^{rs} last yeare', says President Child,[1] 'what great trouble the Dutch gave in getting of your pepper on the Mallabar Coast . . . and doubtlesse now that they injoy a quiet possession of Bantam they will be very brisk; in all appearance, wee too Justly fear, will soon ingross all the pepper on this coast to them selves, . . . as they themselves give out to be greater than the King of England and ffrance, and that in four or five years there shall be no Englishman nor ffrenchman In India, but what are in their service; but we hope never to see that, for all their huffing and talking bigg.'

But though the Dutch were dangerous rivals, it is still the Interlopers and their doings that fill the pages of the letters from Surat. Nor was it only as trade competitors that these gentry caused uneasiness and alarm among the Company's servants. We have already referred to the Buccaneers in the East Indies as a development of Interloping; ten years later, Avery's piratical doings resulted in the arrest of the English in Surat,[2] the Mogul Governor being unable or unwilling to distinguish between English merchants and English pirates, and holding the President and Council responsible for all the acts of their countrymen in the East. This was one of the most objectionable features of these independent cruisers, that their misdoings were very apt to bring trouble on the Company's servants; and already in this year we see very evident signs of the narrow margin between interloping and piracy.

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. September 26, 1684 (wrongly dated November 29).
[2] Hedges, ii. 138; Hamilton, i. 236.

The British sailor of the period was certainly no lamb, even on the most respectable of ships. Fryer compares his habits with the gravity and piety of the Mussulman:

"Our Sailors can hardly ever work without horrid Oaths and hideous Cursing and Imprecations; and these Moormen, on the contrary, never let their hands do any Labour, but that they sing a Psalm or Prayer and conclude at every joint Application of it, Allah, Allah, invoking the Name of God.'

We hear indeed of doings by the crews of the Company's own ships, that filled with anxiety the wretched President and factors, who knew that it was on them that the blame would fall. Here is a complaint from Robert Harbin of Carwarr.[1]

'Nor is this the only unhappiness we are to Graple with, for partiall fortune (as if wee had not sufficient anxiety to Live quiett with this ticklish and raskally Government)[2] has hitt us home with the 2 greatest blowes of hazzard that was possible for her to bestow; to witt, in plaine English, some of the *Mexico Merchant's* men entred a house and took out a Cow perforce and killed it, albeit they had faire warning from us, Sumbajee (when at Phunda against the Portugueez) having executed a Mooreman (Commander of one of his Grabbs and a ffavorite Living in this towne) for being onely partner in killing a Cow fairly, and privately bought, which was a small Crime to ours; which notwithstanding, with Piscashes[3] presently applyed, we had in a manner Cured the Rupture. and noe sooner soe but one of the *China Merchant's* men killed with a Muskett 2 Moore boyes of great Parentage . . ., wee feare of more a designe than accident. . . . God onely knows what the issue of it will be; wee endeavour by all the demonstrations imaginable of sorrow to prove it an accident. . . . If 2 first-rate ffrigattes had indeavoured to runn us into danger, and inconveniences, they could not have contrived it in 2 patter acts than these litle fooles of shipps have done.'

The wanton murder of Mohammedan boys and Hindu cows was a very serious affair for the isolated little band of Englishmen at Carwarr; John Child thought it might break up the factory there. 'We hope', he writes, 'you have protested against the two Commanders', and recommends 'making up this unhappy rupture . . . by presents, but if you

[1] O.C. 5198, dated September 15, 1684.

[2] Carwarr was at this time in Sombajee's possession. [3] Bribes.

finde that cannot be, but that you may remaine in danger of your lives, and the Hon. Company's estate in apparent Hazard of being lost, in such case and uppon noe other account, we give you liberty to remove to the next Port most fitt for your settilement.'[1] The trouble fortunately seems to have yielded to the present application of piscashes.

If the Company's own servants were guilty of such ruffianism, it was to be supposed that the conduct of the Interlopers, or at least of some of them, would create an even worse impression on the natives of India; and this year's records bear out the expectation.

Of the new crop of Interlopers, the first to come East was a man called Say, who established himself at Muscat, intending to make this his head-quarters for a regular trade. In 1684, four of his men, joining forces with two Dutchmen, determined to set up on their own account, and took passage to the Malabar Coast in the vessel of a native merchant of Cong. The vessel was richly laden, and proved too strong a bait for the six miscreants, who seized the ship on the voyage, murdering the owner and two of his women who were travelling with him, as also no less than twenty-six of the crew, keeping only six Lascars to help navigate the ship. On approaching the coast of India, they decided to remove also these witnesses against them, and threw the six Lascars overboard. However, 'it pleased the Almighty to floate them alive ashoare to discover them', so that on landing at Onore, to the north of Carwarr, the pirates were seized and taken before the queen of the country. Harbin, on hearing of it, reported the affair to Child. 'Report speakes them English,' he says; 'if soe, they would doe us a kindnesse to disown their Countrey.'[2]

The President replied[3] that he had already heard of the 'wicked and most detestable' business 'to our noe mean trouble and great shame', and told Harbin to 'utterly disown' them, in case they applied to him for protection. With a disgust that we cordially share, the chief of Carwarr heard

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. October 22, 1684.
[2] O. C. 5118. [3] Surat Factory Records 91. August 22, 1684.

that these scoundrels had escaped the fate they deserved. 'The Queen of Canara', he tells Child, 'has sett att Liberty those 4 English and 2 Dutch villaines that were concerned in the Cong shipp, and not only soe but employed them in her service; a badd example of Justice.'[1]

One more instance we must give of the Interloper who was little better than a pirate, in the person of Captain Hand of the *Bristol*. Hand was 'a mighty passionate man', and on one occasion when his mate remonstrated with him for some act that was too obviously not that of a peaceful trader, Hand 'kicked him off the quarter-deck, and several others for the same reason'. For natives, whom he wanted to compel to act as pilots, he found a convenient argument in a block and a carpenter's axe. This worthy, we hear, after he 'had done great mischiefe at Maldivas, went for Sillabar, where being denyed pepper (by the Dutches contrivance) went ashoare with about thirty of his men, well armed, to force a trade, and like a desperate fellow marched up to the Towne, where was about 4,000 men to oppose him; but it pleased God that a Pistoll stuck in his wast went of, which wounded him in the Thigh, of which he dyed in about 12 days';[2] an accident for which his thirty men, if not his four thousand opponents, must have been deeply grateful. After this we are not surprised to hear that the natives were 'resolved never to have any trade againe with Hattmen'.[3]

After Hand's death, the *Bristol*, now under the command of her mate Andrewes, seems to have been in no anxiety to improve her reputation; in September 1684 she sailed into Bombay, disregarding the warning of Gladman and Hornigold, whom we left keeping watch on the *East India Merchant*. Keigwin, however, was not the man to have any dealings with gentry of this kind, and she soon came out again, signalizing her departure by a gratuitous broadside at the *East India Merchant*, and sailed on to Surat river's mouth, where we shall meet this pirate again.

Hand must not be taken as a typical Interloper; for though

[1] O.C. 5198. [2] O.C. 5128.
[3] O.C. 5205. See note on p. 97 ante.

the examples we have given serve to show that there was a tendency towards violence among these as among all poachers, yet the bulk of them were doubtless perfectly respectable and decent adventurers. We hear of no such misdeeds among any of the ships for which the partners Pettit and Bowcher acted. Against these two the President continued as virulent as ever; we have seen him spreading a rumour that Pettit was a poisoner, and Bowcher afterwards complained that Child had made the same charge against him. He now started another piece of scandal against the two friends. 'Wee too much fear, and it's generally talked,' he wrote to the Court,[1] 'that both Petit and Bowcher will turne Mahomitans at last; they are indeed very naughty men, God grant of his mercy towards their poor Souls that they add not to their many wickednesses that horrid sin.' Madam Bowcher, now the only member of the firm left in Surat, was not backward in meeting these attacks with counter rumours; we hear of her repeatedly as 'giving out' the most alarming and discouraging stories, with circumstantial accounts of the sinking of Company's vessels, the sad drowning of Mr. John Hornigold, and so on, to each of which the President rose in a way that must have been most gratifying to her.

For Padre Watson, Child seems also to have had a special dislike. 'Your Chaplain Mr. Watson continues at Bombay whose behaviour hath been too great a Scandle to his Coate', he says.[2]

This year 1684 was a very sickly one, and many of our little band of friends fell victims to the climate; the few weeks between the rains and the cold weather, always so dangerous, were this season particularly fatal.

At Versova, Vergis was already gone, and now John Newman followed him, and to the indignation of the English was refused Christian burial by the Portuguese Jesuits as being a heretic.[3]

In Surat, George Gosfright died 'of a feaver and ague', and on the *East India Merchant* Captain Davies succumbed;

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. April 10, 1684.
[2] Ibid., April 26, 1684. [3] O. C. 5291.

'a naughty man', says Child, 'wholy of the Rebells side'.[1] A little latter John Hornigold fell sick and was sent to Surat, where he, too, died.

In Bombay, though the mortality among the soldiers was very heavy, there were no casualties among the leaders, except Keigwin's latest recruit, Lieutenant Pitts, who fell a victim to Bombay punch, and died, 'knowne best', says John Child, 'by the title of the drunken Lieutenant'. But the rebels were to suffer a loss more serious and tragic than any that befel the President's party.

Sir Thomas Grantham, after visiting Java and Persia, set sail for India in the middle of September from Gombroon, and his approach was doubtless expected with anxiety in Bombay. It was no part of John Pettit's plan to be captured there with the mutineers, and he decided to return to Surat before Sir Thomas's arrival; he therefore left his big ship the *Prosperous* with Keigwin, and embarked himself on his small vessel the *George*, in which he had come from Persia. On 20th October, taking advantage of a dark night, the *George* slipped past the *East India Merchant* and stood for Surat.

It was on the morning of the 28th that the Sanganye pirates appeared in two vessels, the one a ship and the other a very large grab; these ruffians came up with the *George* and 'clapt her on board', as many as four or five hundred men swarming to the attack. Pettit and his party defended themselves valiantly, and the fight raged from eleven till three in the afternoon, when the pirates, at last 'finding us to be too hott for them', put off and fell astern, leaving between forty and fifty of their number dead on the decks of the *George*.

But at the very moment of victory Pettit's ill fortune came upon him, for a man firing a musket at the retreating Sanganyes from the 'great Cabin windowes', which were just over the open scuttle of the powder room, the powder took fire and blew up the quarter-deck. The explosion killed outright some twenty-five men, including the captain and a son of Lieutenant Pitts who was of the party; and

[1] O.C. 5270.

a mass of falling wreckage 'broake Mr. Pettit's head and Brused his Right shoulder very much, and had undowbtedly prest him to death, But the Timber was supported by a great Gunn by which Mr. Pettitt stood; as also he was most Lamentably Burnt with the Powder on the left side of his face and neck and left Legg and foott, which was a great Torment to him.'[1] When he managed to extricate himself he found that there were seven other English survivors; of these, Samuel Harris, the mate, with three others and fifteen Lascars, got into the pinnace and made off as fast as they could; and the other four Englishmen, with some Lascars and two Banians, finding it hopeless to quench the fire on the *George*, were obliged to put off in the long boat, which had neither sail nor oars. The pinnace got clear away, but the long boat fell a helpless prey to the pirates, and the last that was seen of the party by those in the pinnace was the unhappy John Pettit going up the side of the Sanganye ship.

Such was the story brought back to Surat by Samuel Harris,[2] and a man sent hastily off by Madam Bowcher into the pirates' country returned with the bare news that Pettit was dead. The President scarcely restrained his satisfaction in his official letters; and in private he openly exulted, if we may trust Alexander Hamilton. 'Dead, and gone to the Devil',[3] was his comment according to that worthy, and indeed we feel inclined to accept the old Interloper's statement on this occasion without reserve, seeing that in his still extant reports the President went as near expressing this opinion as his dignity could allow. 'Wee hope the Almighty hath received him to Mercy,' he writes; 'hee was indeed a naughty Man, and if living heartily wish hee may repent of all his naughtinesse, and become a new man.'[4]

Later, when a rumour arose that Pettit was after all alive, and on his way to Surat, Child wrote, hoping 'that the Almighty will afford him time; and give him grace to amend his Life after such an afliction; that he may goe out of this World a true Penitent, and good Christian.'[5]

[1] O. C. 5304. [2] O. C. 5233 and 5270.
[3] Hamilton, i. 204. [4] O. C. 5270. [5] O. C. 5274.

It was three months later, in January 1685, that Ben Oxborough, the sole survivor of Pettit's party, made his way into Surat, and supplied the details of the story. His narrative[1] is simple and poignant, and we will quote from it, as the reader may like to see the last of the ex-Deputy Governor, and at the same time make a better acquaintance with the Sanganyes.

The pirates, to begin with,

'stript Mr. Pettit of his uper Garment onely, which was a great ffavour; none else experienced the same. After which hee was put a Sterne of their Grabb in our Boate, where wee continued about Three houres, at the end of which time they tooke Mr. Pettitt and and myselfe aboard, Leaving the other two in the Boate, towing a Sterne all night, with nothing for their Covering but their shirts, and those almost Burnt of their Backs; by means of which, it being very Could in the night and their burnes almost intolerable, the one Dyed the next Day, the other Two Dayes after. For Mr. Pettitts entertainment it was as followeth; as soone as wee Entered wee were put downe into their Cooke roome, where wee were forst to sett almost one upon another, there being seaven of the Lasccarrs with us, and could take no Rest. In the Morning wee understood the Pyrates held a consultation what to doe with us, and at Length it was Determined that Mr. Pettitt, myselfe, and two Christian Lasscarrs should be put into the Pro and their to have our Throates cut, and so heaved overboard. Accordingly wee were put there, every third sea which came washing us, which was much Troublesome to Mr. Pettitt; Lying where, we continued about Three Houres.'

Pettit then offered one of the officers five rupees for a better place, and as soon as they heard there was a talk of money, they brought them back on deck and made inquiries from the Lascars and the two Banians as to who their captive was. While this was going on, the pirate 'souldiers' began an attack on the prisoners from which the officers only just saved them in time from being 'cut in pieces'.

Pettit then, for another five rupees, was taken to the quarterdeck, 'where wee had a Top gallant Sayle Allowed us for our Bed and Covering. But the next Morning the Pylate of the

[1] O.C. 5340.

Shipp would not suffer us to continue their any Longer, upon which Mr. Petitt promised him fifty Rupees more for a good Lodging where hee might be settled.' They were put, however, in the hold 'upon the Rock Stones which was all their Ballis', and there had to remain for ten days till they reached land.

The wretched Pettit, whose wounds and burns were terrible, fell into a fever and suffered much for lack of a doctor, there being none on board 'but a poore silly Barber, who Brought a little white Oyntment, which I cannot tell whether it did him good or hurt'. On reaching land, Pettit was unable to move, and had to be carried ashore 'in the Topp gallant saile by forse of Men'; and they were then taken to the pirate town in a cart. There they were brought before the 'Roger or king', who treated them very civilly and told Pettit to have no fear; however, all he could get to eat 'was a little Rise and Butter, save a great deall of Cow Milke and Butter Milke, the which I believe did him harme, But hee would not be dissuaded from it.'

The wretched man, although he grew weaker and weaker, 'had noe feare or appryhension of any Danger, But seemed to be very Chearly, I endeavouring to promote it what I could.' The 'Roger' at first demanded a Lakh of rupees as ransom, but eventually came down to 10,000; but no sooner was this agreed to than another 5,000 was demanded, which Pettit hesitated over, not knowing where the demands would stop; and meanwhile he continued to sink. After seven days Oxborough heard him 'talke idly', and asked him if he had any messages, and if he had made his will; on which Pettit told him to 'Trouble him noe more, at that time, he being inclinable to Sleep'.

Oxborough now sent word to the Roger that he was likely to lose his ransom, on which 'came a great many of the Chiefe Men and felt of his puls, some saying that he was not soe ill, others shaking their heads att him'. But in spite of this consultation, the poor man 'fell into a very Could Sweat and in an houre's time departed'; and was buried by 'myselfe and Three of the Blacks'.

Thus died one of the old Deputy Governors, not the least deserving of the long line of Bombay worthies, though the posthumous malevolence of the two Childs has hitherto triumphed over his memory. George Bowcher congratulated himself that the President had no power to forbid his enemies an entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven; but for Deputy Governors of Bombay there is, or should be, another kind of after-life in the records and histories of our great Empire. From that kingdom John Pettit has hitherto been excluded, and his name is known only as that of a dismissed servant. From Bruce to Hunter, historians of India speak of Henry Oxinden as Gyffard's successor, and it is evident that most of them were not even aware that John Pettit ever held the office.

CHAPTER X

JOHN CHILD AND THE INTERLOPERS IN INDIA, 1684

JOHN ST. JOHN, 'Doctor of Lawes,' who had been appointed to the new Indian Court of Admiralty, arrived at Swally on September 15th, and finding Bombay closed to him, decided to set up his Court without further delay at Swally Marine. 'This nauseating person', as Yule very aptly describes him, was at first received with the greatest respect and attention by John Child, who hoped that the Judge's Royal commission would strike terror into the hearts of both Interlopers and rebels. At the opening of his Court,

'Your President and Mr. Chas. Zinzan satt with the Doctor, he made a handsome speech to all, your President likewise discoursed to all and gave them in Charge to pay all due respect to the Doctor as His Majesty's Judge. Wee forebore publishing your Honours' Commission to him, because wee think it for your Service that he should be looked on as immediately from his Majesty, which may create the greater aw towards him in all, and Clapp some terror into the heads of your mutineers on bombay.'[1]

On September 20th, five days after his first landing in India, the Doctor sent home to the King what Bruce calls 'a very able report'[2] on the situation; this precious document is still among the State Papers in the Record Office,[3] and as the Company's annalist has made much of it as evidence of John Child's merits, we will quote from it, which Bruce wisely enough forbore to do.

He first says that 'on a full information' he is 'satisfied and convinced that this Rebellion and Conspiracy at Bombay was

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. September 26, 1684. (Wrongly dated November 29, in the copy at the India Office.)

[2] Bruce, ii. 538. [3] St. John to the King, dated September 20, 1684.

carried on and promoted by Interlopers and their Agent here'; after which mature judgement he passes on to

'your Majesty's truly loyall and honest subject, our Honble John Child, President of India. . . . His Experience here, His ability, judgment, conduct, true Loyalty, and zealous disposition for your Majesties and the English Nation's concernes are to the admiration and Content of all your Majesties Loyall Subjects in India, and at this time to my certaine knowledge nothing in this world woundeth his heart more than to see and heare how undutifully, falsely, and maliciously the Interlopers asperse, represent, and vilifie your most Sacred Majestie here . . . that your Majesties Proclamation was of no force nor binding without an Act of Parliament; that your Majestie could do nothing without the same etc. as appeared effectually by Capt. Keigwin, the now Oliver of the Rebells and Protector of Bombay, . . . In all my lifetime I never mett with a more zealous subject of your Majesties than this Honble John Child; he often declares that he would Sacrifice unto your Majestie and in your Service the last drop of his blood. He is uneasy and impatient to see your Majestie dishonoured and vilified by all the Rebells. . . . He hath been in India upwards of 25 yeares, and by the Judgment and Confession of every one, wee never yett had and must not expect a man of his ability, judgment, and conduct. . . all the rest of the Honble President's family are as truly Loyall and as well deserving of your Majestie, for theire greate integritie and loyalty, as any Knott of your Majesties Subjects in India or England; which addeth in this Juncture very much to my Satisfaction etc.

'I thought it my duty to enlarge thus . . . because I am an impartiall man. . . . He is the onely man wee have in India fitt and qualified to regulate all with creditt and advantage. . . .'

and so on, for longer than we have patience for.

Such is this 'very able report', made after an Indian experience consisting of five days at Swally Marine; we are amused but scarcely surprised to find in a letter six months later[1] from the same authority, after his inevitable quarrel with Child had come on, that this paragon of Presidents has become 'one John Child'.

All this may appear too nonsensical to deserve notice, but

[1] St. John to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, May 10, 1685. Among the State Papers in the Record Office.

we fear it is true that it is just on such evidence that John Child's reputation stands; and in fact, that this particular letter, and the prominence and weight given by Bruce to the opinions expressed in it, are almost all it has to rest upon, outside the choruses of the Court of Committees.

In this rose-coloured atmosphere the new Admiralty Judge began his campaign against the Interlopers; he plunged with enthusiasm into the task of recording 'affirmations' and 'depositions' from every one, from Zinzan and Day downwards, detailing the evil doings and sayings at Bombay and in the Bowcher *salon*. So great was the press of work that the poor Doctor 'had not one moment of leisure'; he 'went to bed at 12 a'Clock, and at two in the morning was called up' again.[1]

The arrival of the *Bristol* at the river's mouth on October 12th, and the news of her behaviour at Bombay, following the reports of her past misdeeds, gave St. John his first opportunity to deal with Interlopers on the spot. On 8th October, the Council wrote telling him of 'the insignificant dispute that happened betwixt the Hon. Company's Ships and the Interloping Ship *Bristoll*', and asking his advice

'how wee ought to act in soe nice a point, as whether wee may give the Commanders of our Ships order to fire on her and take her by force of Arms, if she will stand it out and not surrender upon any termes; whether the law will bear us out in it should they . . . shed the King of England's Subjects' bloud, and your opinion whether our Commanders will adventure on it.'[2]

St. John's reply next day was that

'if wee neglect any endeavours in seizeing and securing the Interloper *Bristoll*, wee shall be adjudged betrayers of our King, Country, and Company's interest, but to attempt it and not effecting the requisitt intent will be a disparagm^{t} to the whole English nation; yett lett the event be what it will, your Hon^{rs} cannott safely avoid all speedy and hearty endeavours therein.'

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. October 15, 1684. St. John to Child.
[2] Ibid., October 8, 1684.

He added a long postscript expressly authorizing bloodshed if it were unavoidable in securing the capture.[1]

We propose to give a brief account of the ensuing dealings of John Child with the *Bristol*, in order to let the reader have a notion of how matters stood between the Company and Interlopers in India; more especially is it necessary to correct an impression that has unfortunately been given the great weight of Sir William Hunter's authority.

This historian says,[2] on the authority of Alexander Hamilton, that John Child, by way of making the English in India know that they had a master, marched private traders or Interlopers through the streets with irons on their necks; and in another passage[3] he gives a vivid picture of the President's masterful rule. 'Sir Josia Child,' he says, 'having thus stricken down his opponents at home, while his brother marched Interlopers in chains through the Indian bazaars, now applied the policy of Thorough, etc.'

As a matter of fact, a reference to the passage in Hamilton quoted by Hunter will show that he has misread it; the people who were marched through the streets with irons on their necks were all the English living in Surat, mostly servants of the Company; and the person who did it was the Mogul Governor of Surat on the occasion of John Child's embarking on hostilities against Aurungzebe. Moreover, Hamilton says that the only exception was made in the case of that arch-Interloper, George Bowcher and his servants; had Child been in Surat at the time, we fear he would himself have graced the procession.[4]

Such a mistake is of trifling importance in itself, but unfortunately it seems to have been the foundation of Hunter's

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. October 9, 1684. [2] Hunter, ii. 230.
[3] Ibid., p. 287.
[4] The passage in Hamilton, i. 224, runs as follows: 'When the General left Surat, there were several Gentlemen in it, some in the Company's service, and some private Persons, who were all imprisoned, and put in Irons, except Mr. Bowcher and his Dependents, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Those imprisoned were scurvily used, being obliged to pass thro' the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to please the Mob. Captain Johnson and Captain Yeaman, tho' particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragi-comedy, and continue Prisoners, where Captain Johnson died, but Captain Yeaman got his Liberty at the End of the War.'

conception of John Child's government; and it is chiefly by these two passages that he skilfully gives us the picture of a man of iron strength, and despotic power, in place of the utterly ineffectual figure whose career as President was nothing but a series of ignominious failures. So far was John Child from showing himself the master of the English in India, that he was successfully defied by the whole population of Bombay, by a large section of the English in Surat, by all the Interlopers, and by any of his own Captains who felt so inclined; and remained a doubtful master only of his own Council and a handful of factors. More erroneous still is the notion that any English President at all in the seventeenth century could have been in a position to march his enemies in chains through the streets of Surat; such an idea is utterly contrary to what was really the ruling factor in the history of the English in Western India at this time, their completely subordinate position in Surat under the shadow of the Mogul Governor. Our readers, we hope, have had enough evidence of this in these pages, and we need instance only the security under Child's very nose of Bowcher and Pettit, and the affair of the latter's ship the *Prosperous*. But we will quote the President himself about the *Bristol*, not only an Interloper but a pirate.

'It's a very weighty business wee are going about,' he wrote to Charles Zinzan, after receiving St. John's opinion, 'and requires very due and mature consideration, that instead of doing an act that wee intend for the satisfaction of his Majestie and the Hon. Company may prove quite contrary through our want of consideration, not only from the blood that may be shed, but likewise disturbing our whole affaires; for the new Governor[1] I know not, and cannott tell how I may be able to influence on him, and should she (the *Bristoll*) be taken or sunk, and the Governor force us to restore her againe or make satisfaction because taken in his Master's Port, we shall be in a fine condition.'[2]

However, it was decided to go on with the business, and Captain Ledger, of the Company's ship *Samson*, was ordered to undertake it. Ledger at first tried to get out of it, on

[1] A new Governor of Surat, recently arrived.
[2] Surat Factory Records 91. October 17, 1684.

the ground that he was short of men, but the arrival, on October 16th, of Sir Thomas Grantham at Swally, who lent him twenty men, deprived him of this excuse, and he went round to the river's mouth and anchored close to the *Bristol.* On October 20th he sent a boat to the Interloper with a summons from the President to surrender, but Andrews would not allow the envoy on board and refused to accept the summons. There was now another small Interloper anchored close to the *Bristol*, and Ledger would not undertake to use any force until Grantham came round from Swally to support him, Andrews having announced his intention of resisting to the last, saying that he

'purposed to blow up or fire his Ship before hee'l be taken, and severall other discourses' . . . 'soe that I must beware', says Ledger, '(for the security of my own ship) and keep at a distance, for he does not look for a ship ready to fight, having a great deale of lumber . . . but waits an opportunity till I board him, and then setts his Ship afire, and mine being entangled with his Ship may both burne together, while the other little Ship ready for saile takes them up; but I will doe my endeavour to keep him here till such time as Sir Thomas comes down, to whom I believe he will surrender.'[1]

He adds that three of his men have deserted, and that he dares not send his boat ashore for water for fear of others following their example.

Altogether, it is evident that neither Captain Ledger nor his men were in the least disposed to come to blows with the *Bristol.*

Child now called a Council meeting, at which St. John and Grantham attended, and it was decided that St. John, Zinzan, and Day should go with 'a letter and advantageous proposalls' to the *Bristol.*

'The three said Commissioners departed according to orders on board the sloope appointed by the Presd^{t} to carry them. . . . When they three came up with the said ship, they desired amicably and civilly to be permitted to come on board unarmed, to deliver the President's letter and proposalls. . . . The master of the ship in great heat and reviling language

[1] Surat Factory Records 91. October 20 and 22, 1684.

bid them keep of, asking if they did not come with Pamphletts, and in a swearing manner, said he scorned them, and still bid them keep of att their perill, asking how the Button-maker did, running up and down in a furious manner, and some in the Fore-Castle swearing they would burn and blow up the ship rather than surrender, the Chief among them saying he did not feare his Majesties laws, nor his Judge. Upon which, without any provocation, in a very civill manner they departed, the Judge showing them his Tipstaffs, and the Commander of the said ship *Bristoll* giving them saucy, irrevent (*sic*), provoking language, telling them withall in a sneering manner, that he knew what they were, and that he would not suffer them to come any nearer.'[1]

It was really very awkward, and the worst of it was that Sir Thomas himself showed no inclination to exert his greatly superior force; however, there were 200 tons of pepper on the *Bristol* that Child had 'a longing minde' for, and with St. John tired of taking down depositions and longing for a real Interloper to condemn, the President resolved to make one more appeal to Andrews, though he can have had small hopes of success. 'Your naughtinesse and obstinacy hath been such', he wrote on October 24th,[2] 'that . . . you may very well admire to see these'; but if the *Bristol* is surrendered he promises to pay every man of her crew his full pay till their arrival in England, where they will be sent on the Company's ships. Andrews of course paid no more attention to this than he had to the President's previous efforts, and Child now tried his utmost to induce Grantham to resort to force.

Sir Thomas would only consent to use threats, and took his own ship round to the river's mouth, where he anchored close to the refractory Interloper and sent a boat off to her. Andrews so far gave in as to allow her to board, but still refused to surrender, saying that he would answer in England for anything that he had done amiss; and as he was clearly determined to oppose force to force Grantham reluctantly told the President that he was not prepared to go so far as to shed English blood. The matter was finally ended by a message sent down by the new Mogul Governor, who had

[1] O. C. 5226. [2] O. C. 5223.

heard of these doings, forbidding any attempt on the *Bristol* in his port, and threatening to visit any disobedience with the ruin of the Company's factory in Surat.[1]

Surprise has been expressed at the constant unwillingness of the Company's commanders, and especially of Sir Thomas Grantham, to resort to extreme measures against the Interlopers.[2] Grantham, it is true, was especially commissioned to seize such ships, but it is easy to understand his hesitation in this case.

The Interloping party in England was a powerful one, and when Sir Thomas left home the decision in the great Sandys case was not out; moreover, it was extremely doubtful whether his commission, even if it authorized him to seize property, would protect him in case of actual bloodshed; and it was natural to suppose that it was the instrument of the Company's violence that would be the first to suffer from any explosion of public feeling in England. As for the rank and file of the Company's captains, in addition to these reasons there is the fact that they probably were on terms of personal friendship with most of the interloping commanders, and that in the not unlikely case of their being discharged at any time from the Company's employment, the interloping business was the natural field for their future activities.

The *Bristol* escaped for the moment; but next year she met the *Phoenix* on her way out to India. Captain Tyrell seized the Interloper and took her with him on his voyage. The *Bristol* sank before reaching Bombay,[3] but the crew were taken on and brought before the Admiralty Court. On this occasion Dr. St. John seems to have distinguished himself, for the *Bristol*'s supercargo, a man called Mews, was condemned, according to Hamilton,[4] 'to lose all that he had in the World, and 1,000 Pounds beside', and in case he should find a difficulty in complying with the sentence, he was 'to lie in Prison, at his own Charges, till the Fine was paid'. Even Judge Gary might have been proud of this; but the unfortunate

[1] O.C. 5270. [2] Hunter, ii. 296 and note.
[3] Log of the *Phoenix*, among the State Papers in the Record Office.
[4] Hamilton, i. 194, 195.

Mr. Mews found some way out of the *impasse*, for fifteen years later he appears under Sir Nicholas Waite, as a member of the rival New Company's first Council.[1]

Sir Thomas Grantham had not been very successful with the *Bristol*, but he was anxious to go and see what he could do at Bombay, and the President being also in favour of his making the attempt, the details of his commission and instructions were soon settled. It was agreed that Sir Thomas was to decide, as might seem best to him, whether to use force or offer terms; and in the latter case it was left more or less to his discretion to make what terms he pleased provided he recovered Bombay for the Company. The wishes of John Child, however, were set out in full in Grantham's commission.[2] Of the mutineers, three in particular he would have brought to justice:

'Richard Keigwin, an ungrateful, base, wicked Rascall, who enjoyed from the Hon. Company 6^{s} per day, 25 Rups. per month for Diett, a man mustered in the Rolls; this monthly paid him . . . besides what he might make by his employment being Captain of the Militia of the whole Island, and Lieu^{t} of the eldest Company of Garrison Soliders. The next we account most concernd is one John Thorbourn, a fals Scott. These two, from the wickedness and naughtiness of their own hearts, together with the advice and encouragment of John Petit, were the whole cause of the revolution of Bombay; and therefore would have neither of them three pardoned, but secured if possible to satisfye Justice. These three we note, as accounting them with great reason the basest of all, although there be many others who undoubtedly the law will condemne, as Henry ffletcher, Thos. Wilkines, Daniell Hughes, Tho. Sugar, Tho. Browne, Sam^{ll} Smith, John Turner, Nath^{ll} Russell, . . . and so far as we can see Mr. Hen. Garey is too much concerned. . . . You will see by what we have writt that we have no inclination that Keigwin, Thorburn, or Petite should escape the hands of Justice. But because our main business is to gett possession of the Island . . . we do give you free liberty to pardon them, although sore against our will; but of two evells it is prudence to choose the least, and we conclude we do it in this, but would not have you do it without absolute necessity require it, for the getting of the possession of the

[1] O.C. 6840 and 6939. [2] O.C. 5236.

Island and forte, and the saveing of blood-shed, of which we desire all due regard may be had.'

The President's natural inclination to intrigue, and the latest piece of scandal about the rebels, combined to make him press on Sir Thomas what he thought the likeliest plan.

'For Henry ffletcher and Tho. Wilkins,' he says,[1] 'they appear to us meerly drawn in and deceaved; the former Keigwin hath had a falling out with lately; being in drink comeing down to the main guard, gave him bad language etc. on which he drew and wounded Keigwin; now we would willingly have you try if, by ffletcher and Wilkins their means, Keigwin and Thorbourn and Petit might be delivered up to you, with the ffort. . . . We should be glad that these two men adheard to your worship, being really men we think deserve pitty. But if they should promise to undertake and perform what we have laid down, yet both of them being very illiterate men, and the former ruled by his wife, a wicked woman, we would have you not over confident of them.'

Sir Thomas was advised to consult Gladman, on the *East India Merchant*, and asked to send that vessel back to Surat, as 'her men that have had so constant and frequent correspondence with the Rebels' were probably 'poisoned with rebellion, and may corrupt some of your men'.[2]

Finally, in case force were found necessary, it was important to provide against any attempt on the part of Keigwin to make over the Island to Sombajee.

Armed with these instructions, Sir Thomas Grantham sailed from Surat on 30th October, 1684, and after a quick passage arrived off Bombay on 3rd November.

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

CHAPTER XI

SIR THOMAS GRANTHAM AND THE SURRENDER. NOVEMBER 1684

THE methods of Grantham were different from those advocated by John Child. Sir Thomas dropped anchor in the harbour, and went ashore next morning in his boat at the common landing-place near the Fort, where he inquired for Keigwin of some soldiers he met there. 'They told me his Honour was in the Fort,' says Grantham,[1] 'and asked me my name, which I told them, they desired me to walke into the Fort, which I did, they conducted me up Staires where Captain Keigwin met me at the Staires head.'

The next few days were spent in negotiations. Sir Thomas made certain proposals, of which we do not know the details, which after discussion the mutineers were unable to accept. But Keigwin and the more level-headed among his followers must have been anxious to come to terms; they had now held the Island for eleven months, and the time was coming to an end when they might expect to be left in peace. It was quite certain that an overwhelming force would before long be brought against them, and the prospect of closing their careers on the gibbet must have been growing daily more present to them. The arrival of Grantham, which had been for some time expected, gave them an opening to retire with safety and credit, which they could not afford to let slip. On Saturday, November 8th, the mutineers wrote to Sir Thomas, asking him to come ashore on Monday to receive their propositions, 'that shall be so resoneable that you Cannot in Honour deny'; this letter is indorsed by Grantham 'This is an answer to my letter . . . to Captain Kigwen and the rest of the officers after our first debate, and not Agreeing.'[2]

[1] O.C. 5282. [2] O.C. 5246.

On Monday, 10th November, Grantham accordingly went ashore, and after some discussion the following terms were agreed to:[1]

'The present Governor's Propositions to Sir Thomas Grantham Knight, as followeth:

'That all Acts relateing to the late Revolution, be forever forgiven, and buried in Oblivion, and that this be Secured to him after such manner as shall be judged most bindeing under the hands of all persons in the Companies Service, and shall be bound for them Selves and Successors.

'That he shall peaceably possesse, and enjoy, all his Estate he now hath, and that all the pay he has received as Governor, being noe more than Captain Garey received when he was Governor for his Majestie, that it be accounted part of his owne Estate, that it be conferred upon him, and that he quietly possess it, and enjoy it, as any other part of his Estate.

'That Mr. John Petit is endebted unto him Six thousand and Two hundred Xerapheens, which he was to invest for England, his Ship[2] being now left in my power, and hands, I will deliver up the said Ship which is worth Twenty Six thousand Rupees, soe that I take my debt out of the Treasury, which debt is acknowledged under Mr. Petit's hand.

'That after these differences be composed, that he may have his Liberty to stay in India, if he please, or goe home to Europe, as he shall finde most convenient, if upon the East India Company's Ship, to be at the Company's charge as when he came from England at the Like convenience.

'This shall oblige me Sir Thomas Grantham Knight Commander of the ship *Charles the Second*, to performe unto Captain Richard Keigwin all the above mentioned proposalls, provided he, the said Captain Richard Keigwin deliver me the possession of the Island, and ffort of Bombay, and immediately suffer me to send on board Ship *Charles the Second* all the Silver, and gold taken out of the ship *Returne*, formerly by him, or his order, and what money was left in the Trasury upon the day of his taking possession, with all the Company's Plate, Account of their Debts, with all Books relateing thereunto, with what mony received in his Treasury since his tyme, with an account of his disbursements, his Majesties Charter, with all other Rights belonging to the Honourable East India Company, and command all his inferiour Officers, and Souldiers at his Resignation of the Island and ffort to me for his Majesty the King of England, and the Honourable East India Com-

[1] O. C. 5249. [2] The *Prosperous*.

pany's use, to give due obedience to me as their present Governour; if this be performed by the above mentioned Captain Richard Keigwin, then this Obligation is to be in full force, power, and Vertue, or else to be voyd, and of none effect.'

These terms were signed by Grantham, and the following day fixed for the surrender; and the same evening twelve bags of gold, originally taken from the *Return*, were handed over by Keigwin and conveyed on board the *Charles II.* Next day Sir Thomas went ashore, and received Keigwin's submission; the affair seemed to be ended, and he wrote a letter to the President reporting his success. 'I am at present his Majesties Governour,' this letter concludes,[1] 'and must soe continue till I see your Honour, which I beg may be with all possible speed.'

But there was more trouble to come. It seems to have got about among the soldiers that their leaders had negotiated only for their own pardon, and that the rank and file were being left to the tender mercies of President Child. The terms of the agreement given above undoubtedly seem to refer principally to Keigwin himself; and though it is certain that a general pardon was intended, and in fact assured in the first clause, yet it is not unlikely that a sight of the instrument may have alarmed the garrison. There is reason to suppose that one or two of the officers themselves, and among them principally John Thorburn, were at work inflaming the minds of the troops.

The explosion took place on November 12th, and we will transcribe Grantham's account of it.[2]

'The morrow following, the Souldiers and Officers were all called together within the ffort, and drew up with their Armes, being about 300, besides what was at Mahim, and the other Out guards, in all about 500. Captain Keigwin and my Selfe made some Proposalls to them, but instead of complying they shut the gates on me, hiss'd and broke out with Shouting, "noe Governor but Keigwin", and if he would not hold, they would Confirme another, and had not the providence of God Almighty prevented it, I had been basely, and cowardly

[1] O.C. 5250. [2] O.C. 5282.

murder'd, for one Harwood, a Souldier, with a Pistol laden with a brace of Bullets, in the Crowd just by me, presented it to my backe; but one Henry Fletcher, a Captain of theirs, being next to me, seeing the same in the moment, caught hold of it, and prevented the rogue of his designe.'

The tumult was a dangerous one, and Fletcher did not content himself with saving Grantham's life, but was active in restoring order. Gladman, in his account of the scene,[1] remarks that the 'disorder had gone a greate way, and much hurt done, had it not been hindred by the Courage of Captain ffletcher, who drew his sword and Cutt severall of them, forceing severall that he knew most disaffected to theire quarters; there were about three hundred souldiers of English and topasses in the ffort at this disturbance.' It is remarkable that the only blood spilt during the whole course of the rebellion, on this occasion and when Keigwin himself was wounded at the main guard, should have been shed by the sword of this hen-pecked officer. Outside his domestic circle at least, he seems to have been well able to hold his own.

Fletcher's promptitude and resource undoubtedly saved many lives besides that of Sir Thomas; for such a murder would certainly have cost the rebels dear. As it was, Grantham slipped away and remained in concealment in the Fort till nightfall, when 'as soon as it was darke, and the mad humor somewhat over', he got off to his ship.[2]

But the old sailor did not go without an effort to bind at least Keigwin to him.

'Being forced to acquitt the fort againe,' he says,[3] 'I perswaded Captain Kigwen to deliver mee what mony he had of his owne, youseing many arguments to him he was not safe, seing the unrulines of the soulders, and giveing him my faith I would deliver it him againe upon demand, at last consented and delivered mee 2 baggs of Gould as he said was about 640£ protesting to me that was all his stock. I gladly put it into my pockett, it being sealed, and then thought I had him fast.'

There was nothing to be done for the present except to await developments, hoping that time would bring the soldiers

[1] O.C. 5283. [2] O.C. 5282. [3] O.C. 5259.

to their senses; but meanwhile Grantham determined to establish a blockade as far as he was able. The *Samson* had followed Grantham to Bombay, carrying as a passenger Dr. St. John, anxious to make as early an entry as possible into his duties on the Island; and the *China Merchant*, another of the Company's vessels, had also come in during the interval. The *Samson* was stationed off Mahim to block the passage there, and the *China Merchant* lay under Carinjah, 'soe that noe boat could pass us,' as Gladman reports,[1] 'suffering noe provisions or anything to goe on Bombay . . . not letting them cary soe much as a little wood . . . which was very much wanted on the Island. On the other hand the portugese had stop't up all passage on Sallset, letting nothing goe off thence (which was not done in obedience to his Majesty or respect to your honours, but to requite them for an affront they had received from those heire) Soe that all Sustainance was Cut off from Supplying them.'

For some days the garrison remained intractable; 'the Souldiers', Gladman tells us,[2] 'were ffedd with Licquers by some diseffected persons that they might thee more easely be perswaded to Continue in Rebellion . . . threatning to kill all those that should offer to surrender; all which time Keigwin, fflecher, Willkins, Smith, and Sugar did use all endeavors possible to perswade them to a peacable surrender.' This list of the moderate party helps us to guess at the ringleaders of the extremists. The only officers not mentioned are Thorburn, Hughes, Brown, and Russell; and Gladman's silence about their conduct is significant.

Grantham kept up communication by night with his party on the Island and, as he puts it, 'kept the stone Rowleing till it fell into its right Center';[3] the correspondence seems to have been carried on through the medium of Niccolls, who was specially suitable for this work as not being himself committed to the rebels' cause. Some of these letters survive, among them one from old Gary, who evidently thought it time to try to dissociate himself from the mutineers.

[1] O.C. 5283. [2] Ibid. [3] O.C. 5282.

'By my observations,' he writes,[1] 'since you left the Shore, the operation of the strong brandy is almost at its period, the Ring leaders of the Giddyheaded Rable begining to understand theyr case better than they did, and are now about sending Captain Niccholls off to you with theyr Propositions, some more discreet person having undeceived them; for by what I have learned, they thought they had not bin included in the Pardon, with those who willingly accepted of it, so that there is still hope of a generall obedient accommodation, which God of his infinit goodnes and mercy graunt, for otherwise the poore innocent Inhabitants will be in a most miserable condition. Your Prudence in the managdement of this grand Affaire is not in the least doubted by all the good People of this Island, knoweing that your inclination is to prefer Clemency before Anger. Be pleased Sir to give my service to Dr. St. John . . . and Mr. Gladman, to whom would have writt a few lines did not the severity of the times disanimat mee. I have bin so extreamly menaced of late, that have not dared aproach the Forts gate since thursday last, for they were resolved to keepe me a prisoner if I had appeared there.' And he adds a postscript, 'Niccholls is in the same predicament as I am, and dares not stirr out neither as yett.'

Here is a letter from Keigwin of the same date: [2]

'SIR THOMAS GRANTHAM,

'This too dayes past, I have been in expectation of being putt in Irons; or haveing my throat cutt.

'They begin to grow colder, and I will putt the stratagem in execution when we last parted; or from the Mobile send you propositions,[3] forbear any Hostile action as yett, butt what the bearer solicits I comend in (? to) you. Your Coxon has betraid our charge. And others your councell and condition on board.

'All the officers are in great trouble butt are constant to promise; and all ruin'd if not accomplisht.

'From my owne brest

9^{ber} 15th 1684 Your Claret friend.'[4]

[1] O.C. 5256. Dated November 15/25, 1684. [2] O.C. 5257.

[3] So in the original; but Keigwin's punctuation was erratic, as we have seen, and the semi-colon should have been placed after 'propositions', instead of after 'parted.' 'Mobile' is the word we now call 'mob'; it is possible that our word 'omnibus' may cause difficulty to our descendants.

[4] Yule supposes 'Claret' is a disguised indication of the rebel captain's name, 'Keg-Wine'.

This letter is endorsed in Grantham's hand:

'Capt. Kigwen's letter to T. G.

'Att our parting I avised him to draw a righting of resignement and to gett those soulders hands to it as was willing to the same, which would mollifie the rest.

'What my Coxon did was by my order and it tooke effect. 15 Novr 1684.'

Next day Keigwin wrote again:[1]

'In a little tyme I hope to compose this unhappy difference. Two of the principle I have convinc'd and are wonderfull penitent for opposing me; and are now my instruments to worke upon the rest; they have drawen a paper, which touches my selfe and officers, which I consented to . . . thirty have allready submited, in a day or two more I hope to accomplish itt.

'I desire you would under write our propositions and send them by the bearer; itt will satisfye the unbelieving, and putt a speedier period to this trouble. My selfe and officer have been in danger of our lives and substanse, chiefly occasioned by the Coxon: Capt. Nichols shall give you a suden visitt and a more particuler account, and invitation to the Government. I dare not send you my plan (?) nor be knowen to write now; pray Sir think itt not an excuse for in all reallity I am

Your obedient serv^{t}
RICH. KEIGWIN.

'From Bombay ffort
9^{ber} 16th 1684.'

This letter is also endorsed by Sir Thomas, whence we learn that 'what my coxon did was by my order to tell the soulders privatly I had gott all the returne mony on board, in hope to make the difference wider between them and their ofecers, whereby I might have some advantage, which I believe acationed a speedier complyance than would have binn, for they began to be afraid of one another.'

Accompanying Keigwin's letter, came a long list of revised proposals, on which he asked for Grantham's signature. The new terms were clearly drawn up to emphasize the claims of the rank and file, and in spite of the absurd language in which they are couched, strike us as being more advantageous and

[1] O. C. 5259.

fairer to the common soldier than the previous proposals. The quasi-legal rigmarole in which they are written points to the rebels' Chief Justice and Attorney General, John Thorburn, as their author. We give below a brief summary of this paper.

1. That all the garrison be absolved and indemnified for all their acts on and since 27th December 1683, even if such acts be deemed treasonable.
2. That they shall all peaceably enjoy their estates and the pay they have received since the mutiny.
3. That neither Charles Ward nor any one else shall 'pretend false imprisonment', or bring a suit on such grounds.
4. That any officer may stay in India or go home, if he please, on any of the Company's shipping, passage free.
5. That all officers or soldiers who stay shall receive their full pay, 'that is every Private Centinell one and Twenty shillings every twenty-eight daies, or nine pence each day, which in Xeraphins of Goa as the vattao is now, amounts to fourteen Xeraphins every 28 daies.'
6. That the mutineers be acquitted of paying any balance in the accounts.
7. That Mr. John Pettit or his heirs have liberty to finish building his ship now on the stocks[1] at Bombay, and to sail in it wherever he likes, provided he pay all the ship's debts due to Keigwin or others.
8. No suit to be brought against any mutineer for having seized the *Return*.
9. No suit to be brought 'by one Stephen Adderton by reason of breaking up his house and plundering it . . . the produce of the outcry sould being brought into Treasury, as appeares by the Bookes.'
10. No impediment to be placed against letters to or from the mutineers.
11. No officer or soldier to be kept in Bombay beyond his contract.
12. All debts due on public account by the garrison to be paid by the Company.
13. These articles to be a bar to any future suit.

[1] The *Prosperous* was being lengthened.

These proposals were calculated not only to indemnify the soldiers for their rebellion, but also to put them on a far better footing than they had ever been before; the fifth article, especially, contained a remedy for the chief cause of their discontent for years past, and provided for their payment at the existing rate of exchange, viz. 18 pence to the xeraphin, instead of at the Company's arbitrary rate of 20 or 20½ pence. The difference in each soldier's monthly pay between fourteen xeraphins and rather over twelve and a half, amounted in the whole garrison to a large sum, and whatever Grantham may have thought of the rights of the case, he probably did not consider himself authorized to commit the Company to any such concession. There is, at any rate, no evidence that he did so; but still he kept the stone 'rowleing', and at last Keigwin was able to report his difficulties overcome.

'I thank God,' he writes,[1] 'I have our Souldiers and Peoples consent to desire you to come on shore, and settle the Government. Captain Nichols we have desired once more to wait on you. Ther is not now a dissenting person; therefore you are as safe as my Selfe, haveing referd all the compleatment of itt to my management, fayle not of being on shore to-night, that we may have the more tyme to draw up such writings as may be most needfull for our purpose on hand.'

Keigwin had got his men under control again, and on 19th November, Sir Thomas Grantham took over Bombay once more, and the rebellion came at last to an end as orderly and unanimous as had been its beginning. The transfer was made without more difficulty than when one Deputy Governor succeeded another; 'the Plate, Bookes, bills, bonds, and accounts I immediately delivered to Mr. John Gladman,' says Grantham,[2] 'one of the Councell of Surat, an honest diligent Gentleman, who hath taken a great deale of paines and trouble in your Affaires here, and the next day I paid all the Officers and Souldiers their moneths pay, and he keeps the accounts of all moneys received in and payes all accordingly. I am in possession of the ffort as Governor for his most

[1] O. C. 5262. Undated, but probably written November 18, 1684.
[2] O. C. 5282.

Sacred Majesty, but for your Honours' use, which I shall faithfully performe till I see the President and then give up my Government. Your Honours are not much imbezel'd. I am taking an account of the same.'

The conditions on which the surrender was made appear to be contained in O. C. 5261, which is simply a very wide and general pardon[1] and does not commit the Company to any future policy, such as altering the rate of exchange or keeping on in the service such of the mutineers as desired to remain. But from what happened in the sequel it is probable that Grantham gave some kind of a general promise that he would comply with the proposals sent him before the final surrender. Gladman, for instance, in his report, quoted above,[2]

[1] 'Whereas on the seaven and twentieth of December last there was a Revolution made on the Island Bombay by Richard Keigwine etc. And now a dutifull and subsequent complyance and Present surrender for his Majesty, expressed and offered by the said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors etc. Know yee all men by these presents that I Thomas Grantham, Knight, by virtue of my respective Commission from his Majesty of greate Brittaine, and the Honble English East India Company, and the Honble John Child President of India etc. doe by these Presents fully, absolutely promise give and grant unto the said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors etc., as alsoe to all the Inhabitance of the said Island, full absolute and Ample pardon, with his and their Respective Lives Estates Immunities and Preveldges for all and every Act or Acts, Crime or Crimes, Transgression or transgressions, by him or any authorized under him, Committed or permitted since and from the twenty-sixth day of December last one thousand six hundred eighty and three; and I the said Thomas Grantham doe by these presents firmely oblidge myselfe my Heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes to make good and entirely performe all and singular the premises unto the above mentioned Richard Keigwine etc., firmly obliging myselfe to see this Generall pardon confirmed and ratified by his most Sacred Majesty of great Brittaine, by the Honble English East India Company in England, and by the Honble John Child President etc. here at and upon his arrival neare Bombay ffort; and further I the said Thomas Grantham doe Agree and binde myself my heires Executors Administrators And Assignes to procure then and their an effectuall Generall Pardon from the said John Child etc. signed by him in as large and ample a manner and forme, as usual in Law for the use and behoofe of the above said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors, yielding and surrendering my Selfe by these presents as prents (*sic*. Yule suggests for "president's" hostage) Hostage untill the said John Child doe Ratifie Signe and Confirme and declare ratified and confirmed and all and everything herein by me ratified and confirmed: Witness my hand and Seale this Eighteenth day of December, One thousand Six hundred Eighty four in Bombay ffort.' (The date, December 18, must be a mistake of the copyist for November 18.)

[2] O.C. 5283.

when speaking of the money recovered from the rebels, refers to 'fourteen thousand Xeraphins in Cash . . . out of which there is some debts to be paid according to agreement. . . .

'. . . With submission I shall recommend to your honours Capt. Thomas Niccols his dillegence and Care in securing your honours in this affair, and has been a greate Instrument to bring the people to Complyance.'

On the 20th November, the day following the surrender, Dr. St. John made his state entry, and the proceedings terminated in general festivities. Here is Grantham's account, taken from his report last quoted.[1]

'I summoned all the Officers and inhabitants to come to the Court house, and from the ffort my Selfe with many other Gentlemen attended him to the Court all the way walking with a good Guard, and my Trumpets sounding before me; where I ordered one of the Officers to reade his Commission, which done I made some short speech to the people, and ordered the Commission to be held up to the sight of them all, and then I asked them if they did believe it to be his Majesties broad Seale, and Commission, assureing them it was soe; many answered they did believe it, upon which I risse out of the Chaire, and told them in honour to his most Sacred Majesties Commission and that worthy person the Judge, I delivered him the Chaire of Justice, and seated him in it, which God grant he may performe, then the Judge made a short speech to them, and I dismissed them for the present, inviteing all the Chiefe, both English and Portuguese, to a publicke dinner, which I had ordered at the Marshall's house, neare to the ffort; where at dinner I began his Majesties health with 21 Guns from the ffort, the Queen's with 19, the Duke of Yorke's with 17, Prince George's with 15, and the Hon. Companie's with 15. They all being well satisfied, and in Peace, which God grant may continue.'

Thus with general rejoicing, a public dinner, and salvoes of artillery, ended this strange episode in the history of Bombay: a revolution achieved without violence, and a rebel government that added lustre to the British name, came to an appropriate conclusion without bloodshed or severity; and the good sense and moderation of our countrymen has seldom been better shown than by the two gallant sailors, Keigwin and Grantham.

[1] O. C. 5282.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

CHARLES WARD, the late Deputy Governor, after an imprisonment of nearly a year, now found himself once more at large; but to his bitter disappointment he discovered that there was no intention of restoring him to his former position. President Child, on hearing of the tumult that had undone Grantham's first success, had sent off a Mr. English, one of the late council of Bantam,[1] to help Sir Thomas with his advice. We hear little of this gentleman except his quarrel with Ward; each claimed precedence over the other, and the latter complained that he was so studiously neglected that even the daily pass-word was withheld from him.[2] The recriminations which followed led to both himself and English being recalled to Surat, whence Ward was ordered to Persia to the chief command there. In two letters from the Court in 1687 we see the last of this unfortunate man.

On June 6, Josia writes:

'Mr Wards Shufling from place to place as if he were bound to obey noebody wee doe soe greatly dislike that we doe hereby suspend him from any implоyment in our Service . . . and from any Salary, dyet at our Table, or any perquisites whatsoever by our service.'

And on August 3,

'We have put yor Brother Ward out of our service, as well for his negligence therein as for his ingratitude refractoryness and surlyness to you, but after you think he is sufficiently mortifyed, if you Judge he may be of any use to us we give you leave to put him into some Implоyment where he may do us no harme. But let him not know you do it with our particular Licence, neither do it at all if you think he will never do us any good, to which opinion we do strongly incline.'

For the Deputy Governorship, Charles Zinzan was selected, and he arrived in Bombay on December 16th. The President himself would naturally have come in person to

[1] Orme says he thinks English was agent of Persia, but vide Bruce, ii. 548. The agent of Persia at this time was Samuel Darnelly.

[2] O.C. 5293.

Bombay to settle matters at this crisis, and intended to do so; but from day to day he found himself unable to start, owing to difficulties with the new Governor, and the alarm of a rumoured intention on the part of Sombajee to follow his father's example in a descent upon Surat. Zinzan, therefore, sailed by himself, and on reaching Bombay he formally took charge of the Island from Grantham, on behalf of Child and the Company.

It was at this point that Zinzan committed an indiscretion that got him into a disgrace from which he never recovered, for it appears that, relying on the plenary power given him as the President's representative, he signed and agreed to the mutineers' 'proposals' referred to above.[1] It is probable that he believed that if he refused to do so the surrender would not be made, and also that he thought the articles fair enough in themselves; but the President afterwards repudiated a part of the bargain, and tried to repudiate more, claiming that Zinzan had exceeded his powers.

The mutineers had stipulated for a passage home if they wished to leave India, but the only one who took immediate advantage of it was their leader. Keigwin followed his bags of gold on board the *Charles the Second*, which sailed back to England, so soon as Zinzan had relieved Grantham of the charge of Bombay.

Child was furious to see the rebel captain escape from his clutches.

'Keigwin that notorious naughty Rascall', he says,[2] 'is on board of *Charles the 2nd*, as Impudent as hell gloring in his Rougery, being secured under Sir Thomases protection, with whome he designes for England. We cannott see but hee will get out of our hands, but Indeed its ten thousand pittys he should escape the Halter, being the verry false Rascall without whome the Revolt on Bombay would not have bine.'

A more honourable end awaited Richard Keigwin. In those days India was more remote from England than we now find it easy to imagine, and events in Bombay made but the faintest impression on men's minds at home; so that by May, 1689, the notorious naughty Rascall's misdemeanours

[1] Vide p. 148, ante. [2] O.C. 5295.

were sufficiently forgotten for him to obtain once more command of his old ship, the *Assistance*, in which he sailed to the West Indies early in 1690.

In the attack on St. Christopher's on 21st June of that year, Keigwin was in command of the 'marine regiment' or (as it would now be called) the naval brigade, and fell at the head of his men as he was leading them to the assault of Basseterre;[1] a close to his adventurous career far better suited to his deserts than the halter John Child designed for him.

The rest of the rebel officers, who were mostly bound to Bombay by business or family ties, elected to remain on the Island, and by Articles 4 and 5 of the 'Proposals' claimed to be retained in their commands in the Bombay garrison. This was an indulgence which John Child, already enraged at having obtained no victim to hang, was determined not to permit, and he accordingly ordered Zinzan to dismiss every mutineer from all employment under the Company. Zinzan replied that he was unable to do so, having agreed to the mutineers' terms, and held that the Company was bound in honour to fulfil the engagements made by him in its behalf. An acrimonious correspondence ensued, in which, while the President insisted on Zinzan's carrying out his orders to dismiss the rebel officers, the Deputy Governor as persistently raised objections and finally flatly refused to go back on his word.

John Child presents at this period an unpleasant picture; raving and impotent, thirsting for blood yet unable to procure the smallest particle of vengeance, his letters become more and more intemperate and unreasonable. A few extracts will serve to show his state of mind:

'Of the Commanders of your owne Ships,' he writes to the Court,[2] 'to our Sorrowes we speake itt, there is but very few of them but what are really against your honours, and many others as well as they that unJustly and ungratefully curse your Honours, when the sweete morsells that they have from you, that Nourisheth them, is goeing downe their throates. Oh Monstrous Ingratitude, and the highest of Basenesse.'

[1] Log of H.M.S. *Assistance*, in the Record Office.
[2] Surat Factory Records 92. January 31, 1684/5.

Again, in a letter to Zinzan, 'Indeed its Ten thousand pittys that some suffered not, nay its in a manner a piece of Cruellty to lett such Villians escape death, and may be the cause of another rebellion,' and he repeats his orders to dismiss the officers, and that 'Thorburne, ffletcher, Sugar, and Wilkins, upon some penallty as may be seen fitt, not suffered to ever come into the ffort, or any ffortification on the Island, or nearer any than Pistoll Shott'.[1]

In another letter to the Deputy Governor he says,

'We are now come to an unpleasant clause, the considerable reasons that you say defers putting in execution our orders is soe farre from reason with us that it appeares greate folly and weaknesse without any respect to the Orders from England . . . the maine point being for the Casheering of ffletcher Wilkins and Sugar. The first excuse is out of tender of Conscience, because you have signed the Pardon and proposall. But pray lett us know where your Conscience is concerned. We cannot see it. . . . If it be soe that all those Officers that were in the Rebell's time must be kepp in, pray where is the Island reduced.'[2]

He seems to have suffered from a persistent and ridiculous fear of a second rebellion, and he tells his masters[3] that

'there is too many of the Old officers Intrusted in the Garrison, and your honours may see by the proposalls made by Keigwin etc. how Impudently naught they are . . . theire consciences are Seered and they ready for another mutiny, and have come of soe well with this last that they are Incouraged to it.'

And again,[4]

'Itts with noe small regret that we are Constrained to Signe to the Pardon Sir Thomas Grantham gave the Bombay Rebells. . . . There is many Articles in theire proposalls that demonstrate theire Villainous Principles, and since there is soe many of the heads of them still Officers in the Garrison (contrary to our wills and desires as per our Instructions given with Mr. Chas. Zinzan) . . . we have good reason to believe they will breake out to a 2nd revolt. . . . One of the most unreasonable demands of these villianes is the

[1] Surat Factory Records 92. June 22, 1685. [2] Ibid., July 16, 1685.
[3] Ibid., January 31, 1684/5. [4] Ibid.

augementation of their Pay, by Putting theire owne value upon the money they receive, which evill shall be the first thing we will take care to remove.'

So long as Zinzan was at Bombay, however, Child could not remove this evil, for the Deputy Governor refused to give in; only when Sir John Wyborne succeeded to the command of the Island could the President get his way, and even then only in the face of the strongest protests from Wyborne, who declared that if they reverted to the arbitrary exchange value of the xeraphin, the soldiers would starve. Child insisted, and in March 1687 we hear that the garrison was once more paid at 20½*d.* per xeraphin, on which 'a great many of our Europe people . . . have layd down their armes and are gon off from the Island. The Topasses in generall say they shall be starved . . .',[1] and the President could congratulate himself on reintroducing with full effect the soldiers' principal grievance, and the main cause of the late rebellion.

With Zinzan so intractable, there was only one of the rebel leaders on whom Child could lay hands; when the mutiny broke out there was a case of debt pending against John Thorburn, and at its conclusion the ex-Attorney General was arrested and thrown into prison on the old count.

Hamilton[2] gives a long story of the barbarous treatment accorded him by the President's orders, and of the cruelty shown to his widow after his death; and from the records we find that Thorburn did actually die in prison,[3] though we doubt if there is much reason to believe the rest of the story.

The vengeance from which Zinzan protected the other officers fell, as was natural, on the Deputy Governor's own head. No opposition to the President's will met with the slightest mercy in Leadenhall Street, and in the Company's Black Book on January 6th, 1687/8 we find that poor Zinzan was 'quite turned out'. The last entries in the index to this volume contain a dreadful epitome of the results of thwarting Josia's favourite; there we read:[4]

[1] Forrest, i. 156. Wyborne to Child. March 23, 1686/7.
[2] i. 192 and 193. [3] Forrest, p. 158.
[4] Offending and Defaulting Servants of the Company. Quoted in Birdwood's Report on the Old Records of the India Office.

'Zinzan, Mr.; blamed.
Zinzan, Mr.; totally dismissed.
Zinzan, Mr.; deceased.'

So much for poor Zinzan; but the once congenial Doctor St. John was now also giving a lot of trouble. Child decided that the Doctor was not fit for the post of Chief Justice of Bombay, and gave it instead to John Vaux, with instructions that St. John was to remain in charge of a separate Admiralty Court.[1] The Doctor was infuriated, and another bitter quarrel was on the President's shoulders.

St. John's letter[2] to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, in which he incidentally throws quite a new light on the reduction of Bombay, shows how much altered was his opinion of the President.

'I am to acquainte you', he says, 'that I arrived here the 3^{d} of 7^{ber}:84, in good health, and finding the Fort and Island Bombay in a revolution, Sir Thomas Grantham and my Selfe successfully reduced the same and reinstated the Companys Servants after nine monthes banishment. After all thus settled att my owne proper expençes four months, Sir Thomas was no sooner gon then the President, one John Child, contrary to my contract in England and repeated assurances from him selfe, disposed of the Judicature at Bombay, and gave his Commission to another altogether incapable, having never studied any law or learning. . . . I am sure the Government here and my barbarous usage will be highly displeasing to his Majestie.'

At this time it would seem that Child was quite unable to keep on good terms with any one; his fear of a second mutiny, which rose to a positive monomania, filled his mind with the most hysterical nonsense and made him suspicious of the most harmless of people. Even the timid and cautious Captain Gary, who had preferred to lose his seat on the bench rather than be mixed up with Keigwin's mutiny, came in for a share of the President's mistrust. Recognizing that this hero 'hath but a meane poore Spiritt that may be easily

[1] Surat Factory Records 92. March 17, 1684/5.
[2] Dated May 10, 1685. This letter is among the State papers at the Record Office.

ffreittend into anything'[1] the Court wrote out: 'Old Gary we look upon as pardoned for what he did in the tyme of the Rebellion.'[2] But to John Child's excited mind the poor old man now appeared as a dangerous conspirator, hatching a plot, with such incompatible accomplices as St. John and George Bowcher, to raise another rebellion. Such a conspiracy could not possibly have occurred except in Opera-bouffe; but John Child had worked himself up to believe anything, and when a messenger fell into his hands carrying two letters to Gary— one from George Bowcher and the other from an Interloper called Goodlad who was staying in Surat, he seized the letters and tore them open.

Nothing could throw a stranger light on the President's state of mind than the fact that he found confirmation of his fears in these two letters, and actually sent them home as evidence. Bowcher's letter was purely private in nature, and we are grateful to Child for preserving for us a proof that he and old Gary and Mrs. Minchin were among the friends of Mannucci, and were busy helping him to prepare his great book that is still so fascinating. 'I have provided severall curiosities', he writes,[3] 'for our ffriend Nicolao Manucho, and waite Madam Minchin's leisure, soe soon as I receive the particulars from her shall dispatch the Cohors;[4] as to the Shreens or pictures you mention shall indeavour to furnish him with such as may be acceptable if procurable.' Of this letter the President admits that the contents do not 'plainely . . . attend to mutiny', but he hints darkly that it at least proves that Gary is in correspondence with dangerous characters.[5]

In Goodlad's letter he found even clearer proof of a plot. 'I am sorry', says the Interloper,[6] that you meet with such ill treatment from people here now in your old age, but it verifies the english Proverb, Sett beggars on horseback and they will ride to the Divell'; on which the President comments: 'you will find' in 'that . . . Letter from Goodlad

[1] O. C. 5563. [2] Letter Book 8. March 26, 1686. To Surat.
[3] O. C. 5359. [4] Cohor = Kahar, a porter.
[5] Surat Factory Records 92. April 18, 1685. [6] O. C. 5363.

writt in unhansome raling stile against the Right Honourable Company etc. that its an indeavouring to subvert the present Government.'

The President now threw all self-control to the winds and sent orders to Zinzan that guards were to be stationed at Mahim to intercept all letters coming to the Island, and send them to the Deputy Governor in whose presence they were to be opened.[1]

Whether that officer carried out these instructions or not we have no information; but it is an odd piece of irony that the immediate cause of poor Zinzan's total dismissal was his opening of some letters from the Court to Child, addressed to Bombay under the impression that the President had moved there.

Once it became known what John Child was looking for, the Bowchers and their friends made haste to supply him; and the President was soon inundated with a perfect torrent of attestations, depositions, and 'Scurrilous Sausy papers'[2] of all kinds.

George Bowcher's position was now quite impregnable, though Child chose to speak of him as 'in a sinking condition';[3] he had come back at last from Aurungzebe's Court not only with his coveted firmaund, which gave him the same trade privileges as the Company, but with a special letter of recommendation addressed to the Governor of Surat by Prince Mu'azzim, who later succeeded Aurungzebe as Emperor.[4] Henceforward no malice of the President's could touch Pettit's partner, and he continued to live and prosper in Surat for many years after Child and all our other characters had disappeared or died. One last effort was made by John Child to bring him to book, when the orders under Charles II's privy seal came out, for him to return home.

The King's writ reached Surat in June 1685, and there then began a game of hide-and-seek that must have delighted all the English in the place. The difficulty was to serve the writ

[1] Surat Factory Records 92. April 18, 1685.
[2] Ibid., August 15, 1685. [3] Ibid., July 23, 1685. To Bengal.
[4] O.C. 5270.

on Bowcher at all; at the first attempt the papers were returned unopened, 'Mrs. Bowcher flying into her usual Scurilous Language'.[1] But the President would not readily admit himself defeated, and for days the summons went to and fro, leaving trails of Protests in its wake, till at last in despair Child announced that it was now 'sufficiently' served, though not exactly according to the 'rule Lade downe by Doctor John S[t] John'.[2] Whether sufficiently served or no, the King of England's writ did not for many years to come run in Surat City, and we leave George Bowcher carrying on, in perfect security, his interloping business and his scholarly pursuits; though it is possible that this affair did affect his position in the future. Fifteen years later, when the efforts of Papillon and his friends were at last rewarded, and the New or English Company was formed, its preliminary affairs in Surat were largely committed to the hands of Bowcher;[3] and if we do not find his name among the members of Sir Nicholas Waite's Council, the New Company's first chief in Western India, it is probably because it was impossible to employ officially a man against whom the King's writ was still out.

And so, leaving of our protagonists only George Bowcher and John Child to carry on their enmity through the further developments of Josia's policy, we may bring our story to a close. We have led the reader through the agitations and alarms of the first part of John Child's rule in India; we have introduced to him all the principal characters that composed the little society of our countrymen in Western India, with their private trade and their quarrels, their punch-houses and their garden-parties, and their unpleasant neighbours the Mahrattas, the Siddees, and the Sanganye pirates, and have given him, we trust, some notion of the conditions in which they lived. He has been shown something of the struggles and convictions of the passionate and powerful Josia Child; and has seen how in India the first result of his

[1] O. C. 5390.
[2] Surat Factory Records 92. August 15, 1685. To Bombay.
[3] O.C. 6639, 6646, 6649, &c. April 1699.

ignorance and tyranny was a unanimous and bloodless revolution on Bombay, by which the island was lost to the Company for nearly a year. He has followed the course of the mutiny to its close, and seen Grantham and Keigwin, Pettit and Thorburn, disappear from the scene; and now we may leave the last word to the President, still a little bitter to have found no use for his halter.

'Thorburne deceased in prison for debt', he writes,[1] 'and the Almighty hath Swept away neere all the rest of your late rebells of Bombay;[2] many dead, and Others gone; but their all escapeing the hand of Justice was an unhappy thing.'

[1] O. C. 5563. February 10, 1686/7.

[2] Adderton had died of wounds received in an action against the Sanganyes, and Wilkins had gone home. In February 1686 the only mutineers whose names we still find in the garrison are Fletcher and Sugar. Old Gary died in 1688 at Surat, where his tomb is still to be seen.

APPENDIX A

JOHN AND JOSIA CHILD

There can be no further question of these two being brothers,[1] but it may still be maintained that they must nevertheless have been related; and we may consider the arguments that might be raised on either side.

We have first their close official association; the support invariably given by Josia to John, and the reciprocal attitude of unswerving loyalty of John to Josia. And indeed it must be admitted that if, as we think, the connexion between the two had its origin simply in their official dealings, it did eventually lead to a warmer feeling than usual in such cases, considering that they never met. When the time came for John's eldest son, Caesar, to be educated, his father 'after some trouble to separate an Indulgent tender Mother from a beloved child', sent him home 'recommended to the Care of the Honourable Sir Josia Child'.[2] That his patron accepted the charge, and received the young Caesar into his family circle, we may guess from the fact that the name of Caesar Child appears as one of the witnesses to Sir Josia's will;[3] but this unusually close tie would not be impossible between personal strangers, and here as elsewhere the absence, in John's recommendation, of any claim to kinship, is in itself a strong presumptive argument against their being related. While on the subject of Josia's will, we may mention that at the beginning of it appears; 'Imprimis, I give and bequeath unto my sister Child, the widow of my brother John Child, deceased, £100', which shows that Josia had a brother of the same name as the President, and may have been the original cause of the error.

Another argument in favour of the kinship of the two Childs may perhaps be taken from John's will,[4] in which Sir

[1] Bruce was apparently the father of this mistake; we have not found it in Orme. The Abbé Raynal, however, whose *Histoire des Deux Indes* came out as early as 1774, speaks of the Childs as brothers.

[2] O. C. 5536. December 1, 1686.

[3] In Somerset House. Proved July 6, 1699.

[4] Also in Somerset House. Proved February 25, 1700/1.

Josia was appointed 'supervisor' of John's affairs in England, and received as a bequest 'my Ruby ring that I usually wear'. But here, too, no mention of kinship is made.

Other interesting bequests in John's will are 'to my Aged ffather Theophilus Child' £150, 'to my poore brother Theophilus Child'[1] £100, and 'to my Uncle John Goodere' £10. Also to his eldest son Caesar 'my large gold bowle and cover, and my gold-headed cane, and my two-edged sword the hilt is hatched with silver, it was his grandfather Shaxton's'; while his younger son John received 'the smallest gold cupp, the gold Tobacco box, and the gold head and fferrell of a cane, and all my gold buttons and my gold buckles for my shoes'.

The evidence against there being any kinship, though chiefly negative, is really overwhelming; for although John owed his success entirely to Josia's machinations, and although a mass of contemporary documents survives to prove his unpopularity, yet in none of them is there any reference to Josia as his relative, nor is there any trace of a charge of nepotism.

We may quote a passage from Hamilton which seems to us to be conclusive, in which he speaks of the President as 'trampling on the established Laws of England by Advice of his Namesake who governed the Company in Europe';[2] a phrase that could not possibly have been used by that inveterate gossip had the two been kinsmen. Finally, there is a passage from a letter written by John to Josia,[3] thanking him for his baronetcy, in which he says: 'I humbly thank your Worship for the title you are pleased to give me, and esteeme myselfe truly honoured above my birth and deserts'; an expression of gratitude which would have been, to say the least, tactless, if addressed to a rich relation.

In the Heralds' Office there is a note to the effect that no connexion has been traced between the families of the two Childs, neither of whom, it would seem, was related to their contemporary Francis Child, the founder of the great banking house.

[1] Cockayne's *Baronetage* says that Theophilus *père* was living at a great age in January 1689/90; and we have found in Somerset House that he was granted, so late as 1691, letters of administration for the estate of his son Theophilus, John's 'poore brother', who died unmarried and intestate in that year.

[2] Hamilton, i. 190. [3] O. C. 5005. November 30, 1683.

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF ALL THE ENGLI(SH MEN) WOMEN AND CHILDREN ON THE ISLAND BOMBAY, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF SUCH AS ARE DECEASED, AND THE TIME; TAKEN FOR THE YEARE PASSED; TAKEN 28TH DECEMBER, 1682[1]

The Worpll Charles Ward Depty Governr

Councill	Mr Henry Smith Mr Thomas Pettit Mr John Gape
Judge	Capt Henry Gary
Minister	Thomas Peachy Watson
Factors & Writers	Mr John Jessop Mr John Shepperd Mr James Butler Mr Edwd Cornewall
Mint Master	Mr Robert Smith
Chirurgeon	Mr John Bird
Mate	Mr Robert Bywater
Gunner	Mr John Cooper
(6 English gunner's mates)	
Marshall	Thomas Bigott
Smith	John Green
Clerke of the Markett	Henry Walton
Assist to the Secry	Will: Newman
Organist	John Potter
Assist to Storekeeper	James Godson
Orphans[2]	John Paternott Gilbt Eaton Richd Yarworth Andrew Temple Henrietta Hawkins Elizabeth Spooner

Maurice Edwards at the Bunder

Officers & Souldiers in the Eldest Compa in the Garrison

The Honble John Child	Capt[3]
Richard Keigwin	Capt Lt
John Thorneburne	Ensigne
Thomas Wilkins Thomas Perry Samll Smith Thomas Cully	Serjts
Wm (?)	Clerke
4 English	Corporalls
2 "	Drummers
55 "	Soldiers

Officers & Souldiers in the Youngest Compa in the Garrison viz.

Henry Fletcher	Capt Lieut
William Gyles	Ensigne
Thomas Sugar John Arnold Thomas Browne Thomas Simons	Serjeants
Richard Hocknell	Clerke
4 English	Corporalls
1 "	Drummer
57 "	Soldiers

[1] O. C. 4906 (a).

[2] By 1685 there seem to have been only two of these orphans left. On August 15 of that year, Child writes to Zinzan at Bombay: 'The two Orphans we finde pretty well growne up. We would have you Contrive to ease the Rt Honble Compa of the Charge of them, and that for the Childrens good, lett the boy be put to Sea, that he may improve himselfe and be fitt for somewt and the girl imployed to waite on some of your Gentlemen's Ladys that she may learne somewt: nay, knitting of stockings is better than Sitting Still.'

[3] The President was honorary Captain of the Eldest Company.

Militia Officers

James Osburne
Thos Hopkins
John Norcutt
John Bennett Corporall
James Stephens at Verolee

Freemen

Capt Thomas Niccols
Capt. Wm Norgrave [1]
Mr Nathll Russell
Mr Charles Rochester
Mr George Pinder
Mr Tobias Brock
Mr Thomas Waltham
Charles Foxeman

In the Hunter Frigatt

Capt Stephen Adderton Comander
Peter Blackbury Chiefe Mate
5 other names

In the Returne

Capt Wm Smith Comander
Mr Wm Child Chiefe Mate
James Howell Second Mate
Abrah: Evanson Chirurgeon
7 other names

Women on Bombay

Madam Jane Ward
Mrs Susanna Smith
" Mary Gape
" Elizabeth Jessop
" Alice Adderton
" Katherine Baines
" Sarah Thorneburne
" Isabella Norgrave
" Susanna Russell
" Elizabeth Hughes
" Dorothy Walton
" Dorothy Sugar
" Mary Rose
" Mary Brock
" Elizabeth Bigott
" Anne Cooper
" Anne Butler
" Katherine Fletcher
" Frances Fleming
" Anne Hilder
Mrs Jane Meadows
" Mary Perry
" Joane Cully
" Anne Waller
" Elizabeth Rust
" Mar: Keweck
" Ann Biston
" Ann Young
" Martha Robinson

Young Women

Mrs Carolina Wilcox
Mrs Eliz: Smith
Eliz: Kitson
Henrietta Hawkins

Children

Mrs Kath: Ward
Mrs Fra: Ward
Mrs Jane Ward
Mr Wm Smith
Eliz: Fletcher
Kath: "
Hannah "
Mary "
Charles "
Thomasin Bigott
Mary Niccolls
Mansell "
Wm Headland
Isabella Oglevy
Kath: Norgrave
John Jessop
Eliz: "
John Thorneburne
Sarah "
Alexander Robinson
Isabella Browne
Thos: Walton
Ann "
Pene Hancock
Thomas Pettit
Margt Young
Robert Kerby
Thomas Cully
Stephen Robinson
John Richards
Henry Baines

Deceased (in the year from Jan 1st to Dec. 28th 1682)

12 men
3 women
3 children

[1] Capt. Norgrave was Adderton's predecessor in command of the *Hunter*.

APPENDIX C.

A PROCLAMATION FOR THE LIBERTY FELICITY AND TRANQUILLITY OF THE INHABITANTS AND INDWELLERS OF BOMBAY.[1]

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c[a] doth by his hon[ble] Gov[r] Richard Keigwin Esq[r] signifie to all the Inhabitants and indwellers his Majesties Subjects on this Island that the intollerable Extortions oppressions and injust impositions that hath been for these five Years passed most rigorously exacted and continually more and more increased by the English East India Comp[a] and their Servants here with many other Sordid Actions as not maintaining the Honours due to his Majesties Crowne and dignity and their despicable contemning and malitiously ruining his Majesties subjects obstructing and rejecting all Complaints, making his Majesties laws mercinary and subject to there owne depraved Wills all which hath occasioned Gods Just Judgments to overtake them in the full Career of their Pride and Malice Avarice and injustice, and all the Inhabitants and Souldiers Justly to revolt from their unjust Government and fly to the refuge and Protection of a most Gracious Soveraigne for that they have not conserved observed nor performed the injunctions and Articles of his Majesties most Royall Charter or Patent. You are therefore strictly charged and ordered in his Majesties name as followeth:

That henceforth no Inhabitants or indwellers shall owne the said English East India Comp[a] or their Gov[r] M[r] John Child, or their Debuty Gov[r] M[r] Charles Ward or any of their Servants as rulers or Governours of this Island and Garrison thereon, nor any clandestinly to Connive, contrive, or conspire with them or any others, the subversion of his Majesties Government as 'tis now Established upon paine of loosing your lives and forfeiting your Estates as Traytors to his Majestie. That all Inhabitants and indwellers his Majesties Subjects that have had whatever injustice done them during the time of the English East India Comp[as] Government,

[1] O.C. 5026.

either by them or their Gov[r] M[r] John Child or their Debuty M[r] Charles Ward or their Cheife Justice M[r] Henry Gary, or others their Servants lett them repaire to the ffort on Wednesdays and ffridays when their just Complaints shall be heard and acc[t] taken of them to be sent to his most Gratious Majestie who never shutts his eare to the Complaints of his distressed and oppressed Subjects. That all Subsides, Rents, Revenues, Customes, Horts, Lands, Houses, and all debts due for the same, be from this day paid into the Treasury for his Majesties use at their appointed times and terms and that all writings thereoff or others be renewed and transferred from the said English East India Comp[a] and drawne in his Majesties name. That no Ships or Vessells of what burden soever, shall goe out of this or any other Port where the English have ffactories without his Majesties Pass from his hon[ble] Gov[r] upon paine of forfeiting the Goods Ships or Vessells.

That all English or other his Majesties Subjects howsoever distressed or wheresoever dispersed shall have his Majesties Port and Island theire Sanctuary; and all the English East India Comp[a] or their Servants in generall or perticular not excepted; during their due obedience to his Majesties Government shall have free Egress and ingress, and shall have peacible and free Liberty of Commerce and friendly Converse with his Majesties most Loyall Subjects in this his Majesties Port and Island of Bombay. The like to all Nations who owne themselves his Majesties friend and well Wishers shall be protected and defended from all Enemies whatever Dated the 28th December 1683 @ and in the ffive and Thirtieth Yeare of the reigne of our said Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England &c[a]

GOD SAVE THE KING.

APPENDIX D.

ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH

We have not found much that is very pleasant to say of John Child in these pages, and it is therefore with the greater satisfaction that we undertake to defend him from a charge that has been hanging over him for the last two centuries.

The accusation originates as usual from Hamilton, who says:[1]

'Sir George Oxendon began to build (a church) and charitable Collections were gathered for that Use; but when Sir George died, Piety grew sick, and the building of Churches was grown unfasionable.... There were reckoned above 5,000£ had been gathered towards building the Church, but Sir John Child, when he came to reign in Bombay, converted the Money to his own Use, and never more was heard of it. The Walls were built by his Predecessors to five Yards high, and so it continued till the Year 1715, that Mr. Boone came to the Chair, who set about building it, and in five Years Time finished it by his own Benevolence, and other Gentlemen, who, by his Persuasions, were brought in to contribute. The Company also contributed something towards that pious End.'

The passage contains several inaccuracies, which have as usual been followed first by Anderson, and then by subsequent historians; some attempt at a more careful account may prove of interest.

The Church was not begun by Oxinden, but by his successor Aungier, to whom Bombay owes so much of her development. This is proved by O.C. 4905, a letter in which John Child definitely states that the foundations were laid by Aungier's directions. The building was planned, as is well known, on a large scale, and enough money was raised by the liberal subscriptions of the English community to set the work in hand; the Company contributed 4,000 rupees,[2] and Aungier himself, besides his donation, left in his will a legacy of 5,000 rupees towards completing his favourite scheme.

On the 20th January, 1680, his successor, President Rolt, wrote[3] that the Company's contribution had been paid and had brought in other subscriptions, and that the building was progressing; but that there was a difficulty about Aungier's legacy. The late President had left estate both in India and

[1] Hamilton, i. 188. [2] Letter Book 5. March 7, 1676/7.
[3] O.C. 4691.

at home, and his executor in England and principal legatee was his brother the Earl of Longford. Rolt early asked the Court[1] to allow him to take the 5,000 rupees out of the Company's cash 'least by the sending home soe much of his estate before hee dyed there should not bee sufficient here when all his accountts are cleared'; but the Court would not agree to this, and it remained to recover the legacy from the estate in England. This task proved a hopeless one. Again and again Rolt, and after him John Child, begged the Court to get the money; the Court, with the best intentions, was unable to do so.

'As for our late President Angier's legacy,' they write,[2] 'we wish it may be had from my Lord Longford, and shall endeavour it with him when we have the opportunity (he being at present in Ireland) but . . . we doubt it wilbe difficult to get it here.' And again:[3] 'As to the 5,000 Rupees left by President Aungier in his will towards building the said Church, you must not expect to receive anything thereof from hence.'

The correspondence dragged on, but Lord Longford could never be induced to disgorge.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the non-appearance of this sum, though doubtless reckoned in the estimates for the Church, was at the bottom of the rumours of embezzlement which are hinted at by Chaplain Cobbe[4] and formulated by Alexander Hamilton; and if Piety grew Sick after Aungier's death, it was Lord Longford and not John Child who was the culprit.

Meanwhile, the building went on until the funds gave out, and even afterwards; for we find that the unfortunate John Hornigold, who was in charge of the work, was debited with 2,323 xer. for which, according to his account, 'the church has run indebted'.[5] The fact seems to be that no proper estimate was ever made, and that the plans were drawn out on a far larger scale than was warranted by the money in hand.[6] With the interruption of Keigwin's rebellion the

[1] O.C. 4370. March 18, 1677/8.
[2] Letter Book 6. February 10, 1681/2. To Surat, par. 71.
[3] Ibid. February 28, 1678/9. Par. 72.
[4] *Bombay Church*, by Richard Cobbe, 1766.
[5] O.C. 5001.
[6] A peculiar levy was ordered by the Court. 'Resolved: that such gentlemen as shalbe permitted to go for India be obliged to pay £10 apeece on the day of their respective marriages towards the finishing of the Church now building at Bombay.' Court Book 34. January 28, 1684/5.

building came to a final stand, and the roofless edifice, fifteen feet high, remained a standing reproach for thirty years.

During this time service was held in a room in the Fort, and in 1686 Sir John Wyborne, then Deputy Governor, knocked two rooms together for the purpose.[1] An organ had been built before this, for we have heard from Henry Smith that it was repaired in Ward's time;[2] and we find an 'organist' among the regular officials of Bombay in 1682.[3]

It is well known how in 1715, Richard Cobbe, the chaplain, preached his great sermon, and how thereafter the money came pouring in, till in 1718 the Church was finished and opened by Charles Boone.

On the list of Cobbe's contributors we find the names of Alexander Hamilton, the Interloper historian, and of our old friend George Bowcher of Surat, sole survivor of the subscribers of Aungier's time.

APPENDIX E

LETTER FROM DEPUTY GOVERNOR JOHN PETTIT AND COUNCIL TO THE COURT[4]

Hono^ble^ &^ca^

Though wee are sensible the President and Councells elaborate pen will not passe over any materiall affaire relating to this places concerne, yet wee cannot but suppose it a part of that duty incumbent on us to render our sence of the Island Estate, with whatever wee shall deem may meritt your Hon^rs^ knowledge, which wee humbly offer to your favourable construction, and hope the Divine powers will so far enable us that neither in the narrative or active part of our duties wee shall be omisive of the least perticular that may give your Honours due satisfaction, begging a candid interpretation of our weak though fervent endeavours, it being most certaine that a successfull event does not alwayes crown the most prudent propositions, but among wise men ever applause or at least excuse, which alone consideration fills us with alacrity and zeale.

Our Militia is now perfected, wee having increased them to a compleat body of neare 600 men who are all possessours of

[1] Forrest, p. 149. [2] Vide p. 92, ante. [3] Vide Appendix B.
[4] O.C. 4263.

land on the Island. Wee shall see them well trained up and disciplined that they may be serviceable, and to be relied on upon the most emergent occasions, and hope time will bring them to so good a martiall order that the security and defence of the Island may much depend upon their strength. There is above 100 more owners of lands that are Braminys and Bannians, who, being never accustomed to beare armes, are willing to contribute in money, which will help towards payment of the Militia officers. Wee are not yet come to an agreement how much they shall pay, but in a month or 2 more shall conclude on it. The charge of the officers is as much abbreviated as possible, the whole body having but one Captain who has but Lieutenant's pay, and the Lieutenant Ensignes pay, and the Ensignes Sergeants pay, some of the Sergeants but Corporals pay, and Corporals but very few, some of which wee shall pick out of the Militia that shall serve without pay.

The President and Councell has ordered us to raise a small Troop of 40 horse, than which nothing can be of greater safeguard to the Island, for besides the extraordinary fame of horse in these countreys, one horse being esteemed equivalent to 50 foot, they are such an ubiquitary force, that in halfe an houres time by taking up 40 Souldiers behind them, wee can have 80 men in any part of the Island compleatly armed, ready to impeed an enimies landing, or to quiet any sudden insurection. And the charge of all this but very small: the Captain only will receive pay; as for a Lieutenant & Cornet wee shall oblige some of your Honours own servants to officiate those places, Quarter Masters wee want none, & the 3 Corporalls will have but . . . X^{s} p. month each more than private centries. Troopers we shall choose out of the Garrison souldiers, and though the Garrison Companies are the weaker by it, it matters not, instead of which there shall allwayes be a division of the horse keep a guard over against the ffort gate. The most part of the Horse shall be of the countrey breed, which will but cost 60, 80, or 100 Rupees p. horse, who will not need that high feeding of jagree and butter commonly given to all horses in these parts; and whereas it is the custome for every horse to have a horsekeeper, wee will endeavour to make one horsekeeper serve two horses, & for grasse & hay wee will make the Island supply us for nothing, as it has hitherto done for those horses wee now have, which are at present 31 in number, which were ever a great charge & yet of no defence for want of modelling into a Troop and disciplining; & wee think ourselves very happy in the choice of so expert and discreet

a Commander as is over them, the President & Councell haveing conferred that employment upon Captain Rich[d] Keigwin.

Our souldiers, thanks be to God, continue very healthfull, for whereas last yeare from October to Feb[ry] there died above 100 men, this yeare wee have not lost 15, most of which of imposthumation in the liver, much of which benefit wee must attribute to our new hospitall, wee having taken the old Court of Judicature for that use, it being a thing so highly necessary, for the souldiers doe not die by any such fatality concomitant to the clime as some vainly imagine, but by there irregularitty and want of due attendance when sick. For to persons in a flux & . . . which is the country diseases, strong drink and flesh is mortall, which to make an English souldier leave of is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature, nay though present death be laid down before him as the reward of the ill gratifying his palate. This is the true cause our Bombay bills of mortallity have swelled so high, whereas in the Hospitall nothing can come in or out without passing the Doctours eyes, that wee have great confidence this Hospitall will save your Honours some hundred pounds yearely which the transport of souldiers exacts.

The Court of Judicature wee have built in the Bazar, being a far more convenient place and of greater ease for all sorts of people to repaire thither, and more fitting for persons where prisoners may beg reliefe of passengers.

Our rents were not much increased last year, though something they were our chiefe rent. The Custome is farmed for 27,000 Xs., but wee must speake it to our great griefe, that whilst wee are so incompassed with the Portugueze and Sevagy on all sides, wee cannot expect our trade greatly to increase; for the reason of the flourishing trade of Surat and other Sea Ports is this, that Merchants who bring their goods from other countreys in shipping land them and transport them up the country from thence for sale, or sell them to other Merchants who doe the same, & againe Merchants buy in-land goods, bring them freely down to port without molestation, nay Customes or much charges, where is alwayes shipping ready, whereon they lade them for all parts of India. Now the egresse and regres for Merchants up the countrey from hence is totally obstructed, the Portugueze having the Islands of Caranjah and Salset, which almost surrounds us, and they are ever exquisite seekers of all wayes imaginable to doe us mischiefe, envying as wee suppose the sudden prosperity this place is rose to. The chiefest, nearest, and best passe up the countrey is by Tanna, where formerly they tooke of all goods

which passed by 3 p. cent., but now for the sake of only Bombay they have raised it to 10 p. cent., which is equivalent to a totall forbidding all goods to passe. Likewise all timber for shipping & houses of durance, which wee may call the oak of India, growes up at Cullean, Bimurly, and must necessarily passe by Tanna, where they take 33 p. cent. custome. They have this yeare forbid all rice to be transported to Bombay, and doe often put excessive excises upon even hearbs, and fruit, and hens, which poor people bring over at Bandora, but in this & most other things their malice shoots much short of their intention, for, thanks be to God, wee have alwayes provisions in aboundance, our Island being commonly rather a granary of corne than otherwise, from whence it is transported to Rajpore, Goa, and other places, and it shall be our care never to see the Island unprovided for provisions. But wee could find other wayes to passe up the countrey with little trouble were there peace between the Moguls and Sevagy, or that the Mogul would take all this countrey about us; for about 2 dayes journey up the Hill between the Moguls & Sevagys dominions lies a perpetuall seat of war, so that no Merchants can passe without apparent hazzard of being plundered, so that wee cannot expect Merchants should land their goods here without knowing where or how to dispose of them, that wee often wondred how so considerable a custome could be annually raised, and wee can attribute it to nothing but the justice, freedome, & security people injoy here above other places, many families of Braminys dayly leaving the Portuguezes territories & repaire hither frighted by the Padrees, who upon the death of any person forces all his children to be Christians; and even some of the chiefest who still live at Bassin & others build them houses here, therein placing their wives and children against a time of danger. Wee have hopes time will settle these parts in peace that Merchants may be induced to bring down their rich goods from up the countrey, the custome of one of which ships would amount to what [is] received here in halfe a year, this Port having in respect of situation & convenience the advantage of Surat, Goa, & all the Ports on the whole Coast. Goa lying so far down below the great places of Guzzarat, Ditty, Branpore, Ourungabaud, &c[a] where the great glut of goods which supplies Europe and all India is made, India growing there narrow from one sea to the other that it is very chargeable bringing down goods thither; then Surat is one of the worst roads in India & extream dangerous in the freshes, and the transport of goods up by the distance

very chargeable, whereas Bombay lies in an excellent latitude for the whole trade of India, & is a most excellent harbour, winter & summer, which is a great inviter of Merchants, & for a small charge wee will run up a stone causeway from the Fort allmost to the Mint without, in which ships may at any time ly ashoar, carine, & mend, or ly there the whole yeare with as much safety as in a Dock; & upon the countreys being in peace, & our landing our Europe goods here Merchants would easier be perswaded to transport them from hence then from Surat, and though the same Custome was taken at landing them on the Maine as at Surat, yet all that was transported in shipping to forreign parts would be so much custome gained to your Honours &c[a], but these are happinesses *in posse*, to be prayed for.

Wee have this yeare sent up to Surat above 2,000 pieces of Baftas, all made by the weavours of the Island that have been induced to come and inhabit here, the Broker having formerly for his credits sake deceived us with Cambaya cloth instead of Bombay, which does but hinder the Surat investment, though wee believe it not very cheap, yet suppose it not extraordinary dear, the weavours charges of 5 p. cent. enhancing the price, which cannot yet be removed, they at first wanting incouragement to their repair hither; but besides that, wee have hopes to make cloth cheaper then hitherto effected, there having not been any Factours who have had judgement to oversee such a work, and dayly to superintend the weavours, but have been forced to confide in the Broker, who perhaps may be as honest as others, yet few or none of that profession, if business be wholly intrusted to them, but will pay themselves extraordinarily for their paines. Whereas wee doe now intend when wee can procure fitting persons (the Island being at present in great want of able Factours) to set them over the weavours, who shall deliver out the cotton by weight, learning how many threads go into every peece, receiving it againe by weight and tale of threads, & allowing so much per piece for weaving according to its finesse, which is but a small matter & easily learnt, and there can be no deceit or over-reaching, and this wee esteem a very necessary work, for wee have great hopes to give your Hon[rs] much satisfaction in the increase of the cloth investment on the Island, though we find it difficult to induce weavours to leave their anncient habitations, it being inbred in all people to esteem no place like home. Yet if wee doe not fall out with Sevagy wee dare promise 3 times the quantities as this yeare sent; wee are induced to say if no quarrell happen between us & Sevagy,

because wee shall be forced to make the greatest part on the other side of the Bay, about 20 miles of, up the river of Salset, where wee have got together a good parcell of weavours whom wee cannot yet perswade to come over, though have hopes in time to effect it. However, the 5 p. cent. which wee now put upon the cloth for weavours will be taken away, instead of which wee must pay 2 p. cent. to Sevagy, and perhaps 2 or 3 p. cent. more for charges, yet if we paid 15 p. cent. it will bear lesse than the expences of any factory, but then it will be objected the cloth is bought by that expence cheaper then the Island cloth, to which wee answer that wee have yet probable hopes to equallize the cheapnesse of other factorys cloth, for besides the reason above given wee have hopes to have our cotton yarne come cheaper to us then yet hitherto it has done, so that at leastwise to make it stand in competition or surpass any of the Guzzarat cloth, if not come very neare the prizes of Rajapore and Carwar.

Wee have lately disposed of pretty good quantities of Europe goods, 2,000 m^ds [1] of Iron, 1,000 m^ds of Lead and 150 pieces of Broadcloth, 200 pieces of Boudy, & 50 pieces of red Perpetuanas, besides are dayly selling of the old remains of Perpetuanas, of which wee have almost 300 pieces by us, but most of them sadly dammaged by wormes, and carelessnesse; if possible wee will put them off though at low rates before the next ships arrive. Our Norwich stuffs goe off pretty well, partly to the Portugueze, but most upon the Island, the vent of which wee doe much incourage by wearing it for the most part ourselves. The greatest part will in a short time be disposed off, & doe believe may be able to sell 100 pieces yearly, this being no commodity for the natives, nor coloured cloth, of which a small quantity will be sufficient. Wee will likewise induce all the officers and souldiers to appeare every muster day in a red coat, & doe intend to make all people who receive pay of the Company take a coat or two yearely, which will incensibly carry off a good quantity. Our iron wee are forced to sell at neare prime cost, by which wee shall be able to dispose of great quantities, for then it will spoile the vent of countrey iron, becoming almost as cheap, & is far more beneficiall then for your Hon^rs to send over so much ready mony. Our lead wee sold at the Surat price, but then wee save the custome and charge, & bring trade & credit to the port. Our cloth which was the coursest bales at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per yard, Body at $2\frac{3}{8}$ re^d per y^d, & red Perpetuanas at $1\frac{1}{4}$ n^d same

[1] Maunds weight.

time to receive it by the tillet. Wee expecting the ship *Formosa* from China with Japan copper, shall dispose of all our plates which is 329, that copper which is in bars being only propper tò make pice, being lesse losse & the plates selling here for more.

We are getting up our fourth and last Bastion, and indeed the best, but it is very difficult work, being so far in the sea that wee can only work on the foundation at new moon springs, and then but 2 or 3 houres in a day for 4 or 5 dayes. Wee have got both sides pretty well up to high water mark, and next spring hope to finish the foundation of all, after which wee shall quickly run it up, & then wee want only finishing the Ditch and a Ravelin with the 2 horne works if they shall be found necessary, which will make the Ffort one of the strongest in India.

Wee have this yeare received some large guns of 60 w^t each but they are not so proper for our ffort, wanting length, for therein lies the advantage a ffort has of shipping by being able to sinck a ship with her long Guns ere she can approach to batter which no ships deck is able to receive, or endure, the reverse whereof, wee suppose it very necessary for defence of the Island fort for your Honours to send out 20 or 25 Guns of 18 & 22 foot long each which would likewise be a terrour to all people.

Herewith goes a Petition of the Widdow of your late Judge Mr George Willcox, he having received no sallary here for the time that he was Judge here. She therefore begs your Honours to consider her condition & order her the payment of what convenient sallary your Honours shall deem her husband may have merited.

Wee likewise herewith send our Consultation Book & Coppy Bookes of Letters with a roll of all the English on the Island, and a list of all your Honours' houses with their dimensions, and the materialls they are made of, with the prime cost of the Court of Judicature, Hospitall, & Mint. Our books of Accounts are unfinished, and indeed there hath been no body here to doe them, your late Deputy Governor Mr Gyffard dying of a lingring distemper which incapacitated him to all buisines for many monthes, so that John Petit, who was likewise under a violent distemper, was forced to dedicate the most part of that time sickness would permit him to use, to officiate in his stead, notwithstanding which they should have been finished were the accounts but rightly stated & in good method, but the bookes are full of nothing but errours & false accounts; there has been no accounts given in of the warehouse these

4 yeares; several accounts remayning upon ballance time out of mind, & in the whole a generall confusion, so that there will want a great deal of care, assiduity, and time to bring the books into due order & method.

Wee have before took occasion to speak of the bad neighbourhood wee enjoy from the Portugueze. In the month of Aprill last, from a small begining there had like to have succeeded a quarrell between us and them of no meane consequence. It happened that one of their ffrigats gave chace to a merchants ship of Callecut, who making his escape came for shelter under our ffort. The Captain of the ffrigat demanded the delivery of the ship up to him, who upon our refusall makes his complaint to the Captain Generall of Bassin, Manoel de Saldanha, who, being of a fiery nature, apprehended so great an affront in it, that he immediately came hurrying to Bandora with about 1,000 men: wee may say so many in number but for service just only fitting to run away upon looking an enemy in the face, being taken up from the Plow & the Palmars; & so aggravated & resolved he seemed to be that he made publique protestations never to returne without surrendry of the vessell or an equivalent satisfaction. There happened to be some Englishmen at Bandora who went over to buy some necessaries, whom one of his Captains fell foul of, beat them cruelly & killed Serjeant Southerland. The Captain Generall indeed disowned the action; however, being performed by his ministers wee could doe no lesse than demand satisfaction for the murder and affront. The then Deputy Governor lay desperately sick of a flux & hestick feavour, so that John Petit went up to Mahim taking with him a Division of the Garrison Companies, the Militia of Bombay with a 100 Bandareens[1], and about 100 Moores of the Island with the Militia of Mahim amounted to about 500 men. The Captain Generall finding our readiness to receive him, and that his menaces had not operated to that height as he imagined, became something calmer. His demands were first for the delivery of the ship to him, pretending she was his lawfull prize, having almost taken her, and that wee ought not to protect the enemies to the Crown of Portugall.

Wee in answer laid before him by many arguments how contrary it was both to reason, justice, and the custome of all Europe to deny protection to the vessells or subjects of any

[1] The Bandareens were a caste employed in looking after the palm trees; they were good fighters and were early formed into a sort of militia, armed with clubs and such weapons.

Prince in amity with our King, of the Zamorine that was. He long persevered in his first demands, offering many weake reasons for his justification, but finding us resolute in our first determination, and that small effects were to be expected either from his threats or force, descended to desire of us to keep the ship in our custody till he could write to the Viceroy, and wee likewise advise our President, which wee likewise told him wee could not consent to, for by what pretence or reason could wee make prisoners of our Allies or how could wee justifie ourselves to the Zamorine for such an action and that wee had alwayes the President's order to doe no injustice, so that it was desiring us to break one order to wait for another. Finding nothing would prevaile with us he was at length contented as a poor salve to his credit to desire only of us that wee would not send any Frigats out in her convoy, and that he would send to the Viceroy for his order herein, and in the meane their Frigat should ride without to await her motion; but all this could not hinder him from being derided of all strangers for his bravados and effectles threats & protestations, and even condemned of folly & rashness by the Portugall Fidalgos, and all the Padrees. In the meane time wee forgot not to demand satisfaction for the death of Serjeant Southerland and beating our men, for the which and for what other dammages might accrue by these his unjust proceeding wee drew up a protest against him. For your Honours more perticular satisfaction wee herewith send coppy of said ptest with all the papers which past between us. According to order, Mr West & Mr Selater are sent home, who goe on the *Society*.

Among the severall stores sent out wee find not any for shipping, which are not only absolutely necessary but not here to be procured, as com asses, lantornes, pilots' instruments, log lines, saile-needles, and the like, the overplus of which wee can at any time sell to advantage. There is more great cordage sent out yearly than is serviceable to us, our expence being for the most part of the small coir cables and hassers being as strong & as serviceable as English, but for small rigging it is very gouty & unhandy & requires more hands in a ship than when English rigg'd, and the most necessary cordage is small lines, ½ inch & ¾ inch rope for ratlings & top gallant rigging for our small vessels, and small cordage is likewise most propper for sale.

Mr West goes home a prisoner for debt due to Mr Bonithon deceased, who would not be induced to make any end thereof or leave any atturney to it. Mr Gore in England is wee suppose the deceased's overseer, whom his Assignes here have

advised of it, & wee thought fitting to give your Honours this notice thereof.

Herewith goes a Petition of the widow of Captn Shaxton deceased, he having farmed the 1 p. cent. custome for your ffortifications in which he pretended to have received a considerable loss, in the which she begs your Honours' favourable charity and to weigh her present necessities and charge.

Wee find your Honours to be at a very great and unnecessary charge yearly in unproffitable medicines sent out, many of which and those of great price lye here and rot, and many wee can here procure at a sixth part of the price. The Physition & Chyrurgeon have therefore herewith sent lists of what simple medicines and plaisters cannot here be procured or made, which will amount to a very small matter, and yet be better furnished then ever wee were yet.

Wee call not to mind ought else but the presentation of our reall services, assuring your Honours wee shall in all things endeavour to approve ourselves

Honble S^{r} & S^{rs},

Yo^{r} Hon^{rs} most faithfull
& most obedient Servants,
JOHN PETIT.
CHARLES WARD.
FRANCIS DAY.
JOHN HORNIGOLD.

It pleased God to take Colonell Bake out of this world the 13th present, dying of an acute feavour.

Bombay, the 24th Jan^{ry} 1676/7.

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